



Comment

## Marx is back

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## Bridget Jones loses her wad

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# Not the Queen's Speech

## Tories jettison their promises for legislation

Anthony Bevins and John Rentoul

An enormous raft of Government legislation has been jettisoned from today's Queen's Speech programme for the new session of Parliament: the Conservatives have chosen politically aggressive measures, as they turn the Commons into a key battleground for a May election.

Yesterday, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, revealed that his promise of a Government Bill to set up a paedophile register would instead be handed over for a backbench MP to fight through Parliament. But that switch – following an identical decision on stalking – was the tip of a much greater iceberg.

Other measures that appear to have been dumped include a long-promised Adoption Bill; action on restrictive trade practices and industrial tribunals; and on "taxiway" taxis, 1D cards, housing commonhold, and strikes in monopoly services.

In spite of the Prime Minister's promise last night of a "clear Conservative programme, based on substance", a significant number of the measures trailed so tantalisingly before this month's Bournemouth party conference were slipping into abeyance.

Any legislation that does not fit in with the Conservatives' election campaign strategy has been kept out of the Queen's Speech, leaving it not so much a programme for a Parliament, as a trailer for next year's Tory manifesto – and a taste of the anti-Labour campaign to come.

Exposing his strategy, John

Major told an eye-of-session reception at the Carlton Club last night: "We intend to give parents greater choice in education, young people new opportunities to learn, and taxpayers the public services they deserve."

"Those are the aims of... our programme for the next Conservative Government... We believe in opportunity for all – Labour believe in opportunism."

The Queen's Speech will focus on school choice, NHS fundholding and the next stage of Mr Howard's promised "crackdown" on crime.

The Labour leader, Tony Blair, will tell the Commons today that a "fractured society" cannot be healed by those who broke it up in the first place, and that it was no good for Conservatives to complain about the state of affairs they had created after 17 years in office.

But the Government was also accused yesterday of cynically renegeing on promises of talking tough and acting weak. The trigger for the attack was Mr Howard's surprise announcement on the paedophile register. He told the BBC radio 4 Today programme: "There are other ways in which we could get things like the paedophile register on the statute book more quickly than if we put it in Government legislation."

The Labour Chief Whip, Donald Dewar, said there could be no guarantee that Mr Howard's Bills would even be picked up by a backbencher, never mind become law.

But there were two more cynical explanations for the Government's curious and unusual conduct – of abdicating its



Royal cut: Many Tory pledges will be missing from The Queen's Speech at today's opening of Parliament. Photograph: Tim Graham

own responsibility for legislation.

John Hinton, a Labour member of the Commons Home Affairs select committee, said: "I am deeply suspicious that Mr Howard will not do anything that appears to unite the political parties in fighting crime."

One senior Labour source said there was a pattern of

Tory conduct before elections – in which they used the Whitehall machine to generate legislation for the party manifesto.

The Department of Trade and Industry has recently published two draft Bills, on competition and industrial tribunals, but neither appears to be included in today's Queen's Speech, in spite of the fact that

the competition provisions were promised in the 1992 manifesto, and date back as far as 1988.

It is also understood that in spite of the strongest kite-flying by Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade, that legislation was being planned to combat strikes in monopoly services, that, too, is being held back for the manifesto.

Mr Lang told the Tory conference: "I now intend to publish, after Parliament resumes, a package of new proposals aimed directly at tackling these problems." In fact, what he intends to do is publish a consultative Green Paper, with no chance of legislation being ready in time for parliamentary passage before the election.

## Boris Yeltsin has lost it, claims his former chief of staff

Phil Reeves  
Moscow

Boris Yeltsin is "remote from reality" and the country is being run by his chief-of-staff and his daughter, according to a former top official from the Kremlin. Nikolai Yegorov has warned that the country faces a worse crisis than in the run-up to the 1917 Bolshevik revolution.

Mr Yegorov's remarkably trenchant views will be taken seriously because, until recently, he was Mr Yeltsin's chief-of-staff. The job is now occupied by Anatoly Chubais, who has emerged as the power behind the throne during Mr Yeltsin's illness, working closely with the President's youngest daughter, Tatyana Dyachenko.

In an interview with *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper, Mr Yegorov yesterday added his voice to the groundswell of suspicion that Mr Yeltsin, who



Remote from reality: President Yeltsin appears on television but 'does not know what is happening'. Photograph: Reuters

is preparing for a heart bypass operation, is not in control, despite his edited television appearances, official meetings, and the release of a host of

presidential decrees organised by his aides in the hope of convincing the world he is in charge.

"He is remote from reality,"

Mr Yegorov said. "He does not know what is happening with Russia." Place a problem before the President, and he would become "irritated" and wanted to end the conversation as quickly as possible. His staff therefore avoided discussing anything unpleasant, he said.

His attack comes as the Yeltsin administration is grappling with a host of problems, including widespread strikes over unpaid wages – including in nuclear plants – a discredited electorate, endemic corruption and tax evasion, and an angry army, which has seen its resources slashed and fears pending reforms.

Asked about the future, Mr Yegorov said: "Everything is very shaky. And it is very alarming. Some people compare the present situation with that in 1917 – the same feeling that nobody is running the country, the

same growth of dissatisfaction from the bottom up, the same destructive lack of principle on the part of the intellectual sections of society and the same Rasputin-type intrigues around the head of state." But, he added: "I think that it was easier in 1917."

Mr Yegorov, who was dismissed in July, had some particularly tart observations about his successor, Mr Chubais. He claimed that anyone who does not belong to his circle has been removed from positions of power in the Kremlin.

"He does not know Russia well" but he treats the country "as if it were some sort of putty" – to be shaped however he wants, said Mr Yegorov. Nor is he kind about Ms Dyachenko's role during the elections. "She kept intervening in matters that had nothing to do with the family," he said.

Grey cardinal, page 1

## IRA bomb threat at all time high

Jason Bennett  
Crime Correspondent

The threat of an IRA attack, particularly on mainland Britain, has never been higher, according to police.

Scotland Yard is to introduce a series of anti-terrorist measures in London in the run up to Christmas following warnings from MI5, the Security Service, and police intelligence.

In the next few months the Metropolitan Police will increase the number of officers in-

involved in anti-terrorist activities, including extra patrols and searches of suspicious premises and property. Extra road blocks and undercover operations are also expected. Public appeals for help through the anti-terrorist hotline – 0800 789 321 – will also be made.

Security sources in Northern Ireland confirmed that the RUC and the Army have been alerted about the threat of more IRA attacks. As part of the safeguards, personal protection for a number of public

figures in Northern Ireland has been strengthened.

A Scotland Yard source said: "The threat has never been higher. We think it is the highest it has been since the end of the ceasefire."

David Veness, assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and head of specialist operations, said: "Looking at the period ahead, we are entering dangerous months. I regret that the threat is likely to be in the long term."

A security source said:

"There's felt to be a heightened threat at the moment."

The scale of the warnings, both on and off the record, are very unusual and emphasise the level of danger intelligence officers believe the country faces. The alert is understood to be based on a culmination of intelligence rather than on a single piece of information.

The terrorists are thought to be determined to avenge last month's fatal shooting by police of their London operative Diarmuid O'Neill. There are

also a number of significant dates which make the next few months a particularly sensitive period. These include the faltering peace talks, the American presidential election, and several significant anniversaries in the Provisional calendar.

RUC officers in Belfast believe that the 10 tonnes of explosives discovered in London last month were destined to be used in attacks to coincide with this month's IRA bombing of the Army's Northern Ireland HQ at Lisburn, Co Antrim.

### THE MISSING BILLS

#### PAEDOPHILE REGISTER

Mr Howard's promise of a Government Bill to set up a paedophile register would instead be handed over for a backbench MP to fight through Parliament.

#### COMPETITION

The Department of Trade and Industry has recently published two draft Bills, on competition and industrial tribunals, but neither appears to be included in today's Queen's Speech.

#### LONDON MINICABS

Mr Lang told the Tory conference: "I now intend to publish, after Parliament resumes, a package of new proposals aimed directly at tackling these problems."

#### STALKING

Mr Howard's promise of a Government Bill to set up a stalking register would instead be handed over for a backbench MP to fight through Parliament.

#### ADOPTION

A long-promised Adoption Bill, action on restrictive trade practices and industrial tribunals; and on "taxiway" taxis, 1D cards, housing commonhold, and strikes in monopoly services.

#### COMMONHOLD

The trigger for the attack was Mr Howard's surprise announcement on the paedophile register. He told the BBC radio 4 Today programme: "There are other ways in which we could get things like the paedophile register on the statute book more quickly than if we put it in Government legislation."

#### ESSENTIAL SERVICES

Other measures that appear to have been dumped include a long-promised Adoption Bill; action on restrictive trade practices and industrial tribunals; and on "taxiway" taxis, 1D cards, housing commonhold, and strikes in monopoly services.

#### ID CARDS

Mr Howard's promise of a Government Bill to set up a paedophile register would instead be handed over for a backbench MP to fight through Parliament.

#### INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNALS

The Department of Trade and Industry has recently published two draft Bills, on competition and industrial tribunals, but neither appears to be included in today's Queen's Speech.

#### BUILDING SOCIETIES

A long-promised Building Societies Bill, action on restrictive trade practices and industrial tribunals; and on "taxiway" taxis, 1D cards, housing commonhold, and strikes in monopoly services.

### QUICKLY

**£5bn cable merger**  
Cable & Wireless yesterday announced a £5bn deal which will create by far the biggest cable operator in the UK. The company will merge its British subsidiary, Mercury, with three of the largest cable operators, Nynex CableComms, Bell Cablemedia and Videotron, posing to BT and BSkyB. Page 18

**Chirac's Israel fury**  
French President Jacques Chirac threatened to cut short his visit to Israel after clashing with security police in Jerusalem's Old City. "I'm starting to have had enough of this," he said. Page 13

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## news

## significant shorts

## Cancer cluster not linked to water pollution

Contamination of drinking water at Camelford in Cornwall eight years ago is not to blame for three cases of leukaemia in a single class at a local school, public health experts said yesterday.

An investigation by a team of cancer specialists has concluded that while there is no evidence of a link, they will keep the "cluster" of cases under review. The team also dismissed a possible link with overhead power cables, and said that preliminary measurements of radon-gas levels at Sir John Smith's Secondary School, gave no cause for concern.

The water pollution incident happened in July 1988, when supplies to 20,000 people in the Camelford area were affected after 20 tonnes of aluminium sulphate was accidentally dumped into the wrong tank at a water treatment works. *LZ Hunt*

## Divorce 'can be predicted in advance'

Marriages likely to end in divorce can be predicted in advance, a London conference was told yesterday.

Professor Howard Markman, of the University of Denver, in Colorado, said: "Conflict in relationships is inevitable. But we think if people learn to manage it, the divorce rate could be reduced by 80 to 90 per cent."

He told the conference, organised by marriage charity One Plus One, that couples whose parents had divorced and who had different religious beliefs were at risk, but those most likely to have a disastrous marriage were those who had communication problems before they wed.

Professor Markman said, however, that action could be taken to reduce conflict. A counselling scheme called the Prevention and Relationship Enhancement Programme was proving effective.

## Equal pay for women

Employment Secretary Gillian Shephard is to lay a new code of practice before Parliament today in the latest attempt to secure equal pay for women.

She will tell MPs that despite 20 years of anti-discrimination laws women are still being paid 30 per cent less on average. If the code is adopted it will be taken into consideration by industrial tribunals when hearing discrimination claims.

## Special offers 'are bad deal'

Special offers, where customers buy one and get one free, mean that consumers, manufacturers and retailers end up losing out in the long run, a conference was told yesterday. Multi-buy promotions bumped up long-term prices and promoted brand disloyalty Paul Polman, general manager of Procter & Gamble in the UK and Eire, told the Institute of Grocery Distribution's annual convention. *Glenda Cooper*

## Credit squeeze on minorities

People from ethnic minorities are having to rely on less traditional means of getting credit because they are unlikely to be offered – or do not want – a loan from a bank or building society.

A survey by the Policy Studies Institute found that Afro-Caribbeans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis relied on a mixture of loans from friends and relatives, credit from shopkeepers and advances from local savings and loan schemes because they rarely had positive experiences of major lending institutions. *Glenda Cooper*

## Top award for McQueen

Alexander McQueen was last night chosen as British Designer of the Year – the most coveted award in the UK fashion industry. McQueen, who last week signed a contract to take over from Galliano at Givenchy, received his award at the Lloyds Bank British Fashion Awards at the Albert Hall. *Melanie Rieck*

## Public loses out on train profits

Michael Harrison

The Government rejected advice from its own rail franchising director that would have allowed taxpayers to share windfall profits made by the privatised train companies, it emerged last night.

A report by Sir John Bourn, head of the National Audit Office (NAO), discloses that the franchising director, Roger Salmon, made the recommendation to Sir George Young, Secretary of State for Transport, in May 1995 but it was ignored.

Mr Salmon, who has been ordered to appear before the

Commons Public Accounts Committee on Monday, urged ministers to insert a clause in the sale agreements allowing taxpayers to share in any "abnormally high profits".

This, he considered, would provide better value for money for the public, says the NAO. The report goes on to say ministers took the view that there might be "drawbacks in presentational and value-for-money terms in not being able to claw back super-profits".

Nevertheless, his advice was rejected on grounds that it might deter bidders from com-

peting for franchises and encourage them to bid for more subsidy to compensate.

The report on the sale of the first three franchises, Great Western Trains, South West Trains and the London-Tilbury-Southend Line, also shows the Government spent £40m on advisers' fees without complying with Treasury guidelines and doing a competitive tender.

Last night Labour said Sir George had "bulldozed" the advice of Mr Salmon out of the way in his haste to speed privatisation. Labour also pointed out that in ignoring Mr Salmon it was technically disregarding

the advice of a government-appointed accounting officer. Andrew Smith, Labour's frontbench transport spokesman, said: "In forcing through rail privatisation at any cost, bulldozing the profit-sharing proposals of his own accounting adviser, the Secretary of State gave the green light for super-profits at the taxpayers' expense."

The NAO report shows four of the bidders for the first three franchises raised the issue of revenue risk-sharing themselves. Under this proposal they would have shared super-profits with the taxpayer if they ex-

ceeded 15 per cent of turnover. But the franchising director would have had to provide extra subsidy if revenues fell by 10 to 20 per cent.

The LTS franchise was finally taken over by Prism, a consortium of four bus companies, after the management buy-out team which had originally been awarded the franchise was caught up in a fraud investigation.

Stagecoach, another bus company, won the auction for South West Trains, the biggest commuter railway in Europe, operating services from Waterloo Station. Since the award

of the franchises, shares in Prism have leapt fourfold, netting its seven founder investors a personal fortune of £26m. Shares in Stagecoach have risen by more than 25 per cent.

The other franchise, Great Western Trains, was acquired by a management buy-out team, Great Western Holdings.

For Labour, Mr Smith added: "This is a clear sign that ministers allowed privatisation to proceed on a nod and a wink behind closed doors before proper instructions had been issued. This behaviour flies in the face of public accountability and transparency."

## Travellers seek to make 'bender village' legal



Ruling the bends: the 'bender' camp at Kingshill, near Shepton Mallet, which is the subject of a planning appeal

Photograph: David Rose

Charlie Bain

A group of travellers took their case to the Court of Appeal yesterday after the Secretary of State for the Environment turned down planning permission for them to build experimental homes in a field they had bought in Somerset.

The 20 members of the Kingshill Collective were the subject of a planning inquiry last year which could set a precedent for

"alternative dwellers" across Britain.

Nearly two years ago they bought four acres of land near Glastonbury and applied for permission to set up home. Their alternative village – comprising 16 "benders", semi-permanent homes made from largely organic materials – takes its power supply from solar panels, uses dead wood for heat and draws water from a borehole at the top of the field.

But it was denied permission by Mendip District Council which said it was seeking to protect the rural and visual character of the area. The refusal and appeal led John Gummer, the Secretary of State, to "call in" their and similar judgements for reconsideration.

Mr Gummer wrote: "The considerations favouring the grant of planning permission include continued security, savings to the public purse, sustain-

ability and experimental value."

But he added: "The view is taken that all of these considerations... are not of sufficient strength to outweigh the strong planning objections, including the highway objections."

In the High Court yesterday, Murray Hunt, representing the Kingshill Collective, told the court that the Secretary of State failed to reassess not only the strength of planning consider-

ations, but further, the balance between these and the personal circumstances of the people of Kingshill.

He also said that Mr Gummer had misdirected himself to the circumstances in which the European Convention on Human Rights is relevant to his determination of planning appeals.

The judge, Mr Justice Rich QC, is expected to pass judgement on the case tomorrow.

## Second lottery draw to be made midweek

Marianne Macdonald  
Media Correspondent

A second lottery draw to take place on Wednesday nights will start next year, the lottery regulator will announce today.

Ofot is understood to have given the go-ahead to proposals submitted by Camelot several months ago for the mid-week draw, which will take place at the same time as the Saturday one, around 8pm.

A second draw is expected to increase total lottery spend by around one-fifth, with an extra six million people choosing to play. At present 30m people have a flutter on the lottery each week.

The move will be welcomed by the BBC, which has the right to screen both draws until November next year. While attracting criticism for its tactics, the *National Lottery Live* on BBC1 pulls in between nine and 12 million viewers a week. Camelot's projections suggest that the change would have the effect of decreasing the jackpot for the Saturday game from about £10m to £8m, while the mid-week draw's top prize would be about £5m.

David Rigg, Camelot's spokesman, said it would be "extremely unlikely" that a third draw would be launched. "The majority of lotteries around the world work on the two-draw system. Although some do have a third, I think it would be inappropriate here," he said.

While the public is likely to be generally in favour of the development, the move will offend church leaders, who warned a year ago that the lottery exploited vulnerable people and undermined the public good.

In February, representatives from the Council of Churches of Britain and Ireland met with Virginia Bottomley, the Secretary of State for Heritage, to reinforce their message that the lottery was bad for the nation's health.

Yesterday the Rev Bill Wallace, convenor of the Church of Scotland's Board of Responsibility, said Mrs Bottomley's decision to allow a second draw "flew in the face of the church's stance in Britain". Describing the lottery as an "opiate for the despairing", he warned: "It is an exploitation of the poor. There is this incessant statement that 'it could be you' when there is almost no chance that it could be a particular individual."

The introduction of a mid-week draw will also be viewed with dismay by the gaming industry, which has been badly hit by the weekend draw with takings substantially down in some cases.

## Promoter urges new rules on orchestra ticket sales

David Lister  
Arts News Editor

One of the country's leading classical music promoters yesterday called on the Arts Council to issue new guidelines on ticket sales following *The Independent's* investigation into the way orchestras were giving away tickets.

Raymond Gubbay, who has worked in the commercial classical music sector for 30 years and promotes shows at the Royal Albert Hall, Royal Festival Hall and Barbican Centre, in London, said: "There is an official cover-up that turns a blind eye to what is going on."

As reported yesterday, thousands of tickets are either given away free to hospital staff in the capital or sold for a nominal £2. Official returns of seats sold can include either or both the free seats or the £2 voucher seats.

The marketing director of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra admitted that figures issued by his orchestra were "bums on seats" figures, including tickets that were given away.

Some £2 vouchers for other organisations, including the London Symphony Orchestra, have been given to staff by the hospital chief revealed by *The Independent* yesterday.

Arts Council statistician Denagh Hason confirmed yesterday that any transaction in which money was exchanged – including these vouchers – counted as paid attendances for the publicly issued statistics.

Mr Gubbay said yesterday: "There should be new guidelines laid down by the Arts Council on what counts and what doesn't count in the statistics. If we have guidelines saying that tickets given away or sold at a nominal value don't count then we will get a truer

picture. At the moment the marketplace is distorted."

He added: "This does not happen with commercial promotions of classical music. If we do get a bad patch and can't fill a hall we would rather let the artist say it. We're not playing to egos."

"Basically what's happening at the subsidised concerts is all to do with boosting statistics and playing to egos. And it implies that the subsidised sector is doing rather better than it is."

David Whetton, managing director of the Philharmonia orchestra, which refuses to give away tickets, has called on the Arts Council to review all the orchestral grants. He called the present system "an unethical application of Arts Council subsidy".

An Arts Council spokeswoman said yesterday: "We know that 'papering the house'

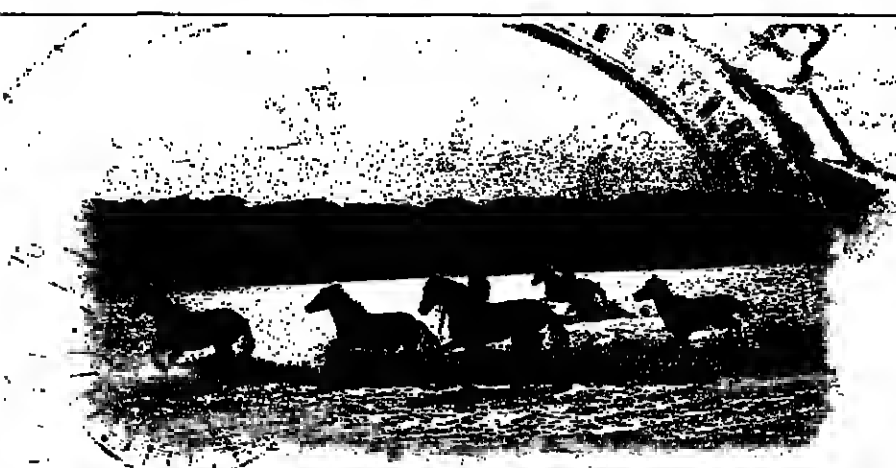
[the practice of giving away tickets] goes on and we don't like it. But we are happy that the figures we get from the orchestras are far paid attendances."

The revelations about the orchestras' ticketing procedures could not come at a worse time for them.

Next month the Secretary of State for National Heritage, Virginia Bottomley, will announce the annual government grant to the Arts Council, and the council will debate how to distribute it.

Council members are certain to raise the question of attendances at London's orchestral concerts and the way official figures are collated, when they decide whether to increase or reduce the grants to individual orchestras.

Mrs Bottomley would only say yesterday: "This is a matter for the Arts Council."



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## Wind of change blows through Wales

Nicholas Schoon

Europe's biggest wind farm opens in mid-Wales today, making Powys one of the most ecologically-powered places in the world, as more than 40 per cent of the district's electricity now comes from the wind.

The local council granted planning permission for the 56 Danish-built turbines on an upland moor near the village of Carno last year, and there was no public inquiry.

Even so, it is facing resistance from countryside campaigners and some local residents, who

say it is one wind farm too many in the principality.

The £20m farm, owned and built by Britain's biggest electricity generator, National Power, will generate up to 33 megawatts, enough for 25,000 homes.

It covers more than two square miles and each turbine is more than 160 feet tall from its base to the tip of its uppermost blade.

Project chief, Peter Musgrove, said: "Wind power is clean, safe and natural and is cheaper than electricity from nuclear sources. We need it to secure our children's future."

Penny Smith, deputy director of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural Wales, said: "We objected because there has been so much wind power development already in this part of Wales."

The National Power development is the fourth wind farm in Powys, while all of Britain has only 31. It is prime wind farm country because, being at high altitude and without trees, the wind blows fast and free. There are planning applications for two further farms in Powys and an extension to one that has already been built.



The new wind farm in Powys

Photo: Peter Jones



# Is Britain really a worse society?

## Crime is up but picture is complex

Louise Jury

Is society more violent, crime-ridden and disagreeable than ever before? That is the premise underpinning this week's moral debate crystallised by Frances Lawrence, the murdered head teacher, wants a society of civility, values, of effort, earnestness and excellence. But did such a community ever exist?

The debate presupposes that a period existed when society was quieter, more ordered and respectful. The kind of place that older teachers and police officers and John Major in warm beer mode might look back on fondly. Yet the criminologists and the sociologists with their eye on the broader picture disagree. Though crime figures are rising, the increase may not be as great as the cold figures suggest.

As Professor Geoffrey Pearson, of Goldsmith's College, London, who has examined the history of fear of crime, said yesterday: "I bet London today is much less violent on the street than 100 years ago."

In simple statistics, there were 745 homicides in Britain last year compared with 492 the year the Second World War ended, with an upward trend since. During the Fifties, the annual murder rate ranged between 251 and a 1952 high of 400, a figure not reached again until 1967. It has not been lower than 500 a year since 1977.

There were 236 reported rapes in 1901; 377 in 1945; 618 in 1965 and 1,842 in 1985. Last year's peak of 5,136 included 160 cases of male rape. Robberies have soared from 921 reported cases at the beginning of the century to 1,033 in 1945 and 68,074 last year, a figure which doubled in a decade.

The figures both highlight and confuse the problem. While the incidence of rape has almost certainly increased, changes in policing and social attitude mean part of the rise is because more is reported. In addition, Home Office research shows a link between economic prosperity and violent crime while property crimes soar in recession.

Professor Jock Young, of Middlesex University's Centre for

Criminology, said there had to be some perspective. "The homicide rate in the Middle Ages was dreadful," he said. It had declined until 1900 before turning back up, with a notable rise from the Fifties onwards. Some commentators initially attributed that increase to more reporting but, Professor Young said, "it went up so much there is no doubt that it really did go up."

Furthermore, Professor Young believes public fear of crime may be justified. Women are at high risk, for instance, if domestic violence is included in figures. "Sensitive research shows there is a big rational core to these fears, but there has been a tendency to play it down in government circles."

Helen Peggs, of Victim Support, said crimes also appeared increasingly callous. "It is difficult to prove, but there is a feeling of greater brutality."

But Professor Pearson, said: "If the crime rate is going up, it is assumed that society is breaking down. But that seems to me to be a totally different question. History shows that people are saying exactly what they were saying 150, 200 years ago about young people and morals going to pot. If they're so sure that the world was a better place 40 years ago... why didn't the people living then understand that?"

Similarly, Helen Edwards, of the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro), said that parole boards examining violent offenders believed the cases were just as nasty 20 or 30 years ago. "They just didn't get the same attention," she said.

The question, as ever, was what to do about crime. For Ms Edwards, since Home Office research suggested only 2 per cent of crime resulted in conviction, relying on locking people up in prison to ease the problem was hopeless. Solving this "social problem" of crime with no hope of a job might be more effective.

But Professor Roy Light, a criminologist at the University of the West of England, had some reassurance. "There does seem to be a reduction in some crimes like drink-driving. It's just that people don't think about that."



"YOU OUGHT TO GO TO JAIL FOR THIS!"

What were the Fifties really like? Above, early road rage used in an advertisement selling insurance to motorists. Below, an idealised portrayal of a nuclear family safe at home.



## Sad 1950s were hardly a golden age

Peter Popham

To most people who had the misfortune to grow up during the Fifties, the idea that the moral way ahead for Britain today consists of fighting our way back to that decade must fill them with gloom and foreboding.

In the Fifties, according to this simple-minded literary, families stayed together and prayed together, eating their corned beef off the very best Bakelite; young men put Brylcreem on their hair and went out to work, and the nation had yet to lose its innocence. Society was orderly and long-suffering, watching as its weekly bacon ration climbed from one ounce to five in 1950, then back down again to three. Decorum, self-control and respect for one's elders and betters reigned supreme. For our middle-aged rulers, and pre-eminently for John Major, Fifties-man incarnate, this was the golden age.

They are right in pointing out the distinctiveness of the decade. The war had been over for years, but it threw a long shadow. A generation who would have been approaching their prime had been lost, and National Service, rationing, and a legacy of strict social control ensured that the survivors were not allowed to forget.

Ordinary people's expectations were kept tightly in check, and the wild exuberance of America in the heyday of Frank Sinatra, Marilyn Monroe and Elvis Presley seemed to come from another planet.

It was the loneliest 10 years that Britain has lived through this century: relative to our allies, especially America, it was also a time of poverty. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan may, in 1957, have declared "You've never had it so good," but he was talking to a population that had put up with clothing rationing until 1949, food rationing until 1954, and was not able to buy imported clothes again until 1958.

"Set the people free" had been the Tories' slogan during their successful election campaign of 1951, but the chains of austerity clanked around the ankles of working people until well into the Sixties.

It was Britain's loneliest decade because the truth was sinking in, through the war in Malaya and the débacle over Suez, that our days as a great power were over.

Churchill, Eden and Macmillan continued to act on the world stage, but in 1957 the EEC was set up without us. America remained our ally, but the economic and cultural disparity between the two countries was by now embarrassingly large: while the US roared ahead, at a peak of brashness, self-confidence and charisma, the UK limped behind - a pale imitation. It took Carnaby Street, the Mini-Minor and the Beatles, years later, to restore a little pride.

Perhaps it is precisely the true littleness of England in the Fifties that gives it such a nostalgic charge for people alarmed about the way we are going today. It was in the Fifties that words like "teenager" and "delinquent" became common currency - but these were imports from mad, bad America.

Look into this distant mirror: in a still from BBC Television's 6.05 Special, Lennie Donegan, top artist of skiffle, England's derivative answer to rock 'n' roll, grins his way through a number, while his audience, wearing long, flared skirts and poplin blouses and blazers, hands clasped, faces blank or slightly pensive, gaze at him as if he were giving them a lecture on personal hygiene.

This was a society which, thanks largely to the exhaustion of war, was thoroughly stuck and it is that stuckness that may now seem enviable. At the time, however, for thinking people, it was well nigh unendurable. The characteristic English voices of the Fifties are those of John Osborne, Kingsley Amis and the "Movement" poets such as Philip Larkin railing with bitter scorn at England's class system, its imperial pretensions, cultural mediocrity, etc, etc, yet closed, in a way that was true neither of earlier or of later decades, to influence from outside.

For all the formidable problems our society faces today, we can be thankful that such poisonous insularity is behind us. For now.

## National Gallery curator to head Van Gogh museum

David Lister  
Arts News Editor

John Leighton, a curator at the National Gallery in London, has been named as the new director of the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam.

Mr Leighton, 37, is curator of

19th-century painting at the National Gallery and studied at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. He will take up his new post next year. He will be the first foreigner to run the prestigious museum, and even though everyone employed at the museum speaks English, he

will be taking a course in Dutch.

Mr Leighton, who was born in Belfast, attracted international acclaim for some of the exhibitions he has curated, most notably "Degas: Beyond Impressionism", this summer. He also became very involved in the National Gallery's educational

programme on his areas of special interest, Impressionism and Post-Impressionism. He was one of the authors of the award-winning catalogue *Art In The Making: Impressionism*.

Under the curatorship that he has held for the last 10 years, the gallery has pursued a policy of

expanding its 19th-century collection, and major works by Cezanne, Monet, Friedrich and David have been acquired. Mr Leighton was also instrumental in negotiating the loan of the Berggruen Collection of 90 works by late 19th-century and early 20th-century artists.

One member of the Van Gogh Museum supervisory board, Truze Lodder, said yesterday: "Mr Leighton has broad experience, vision and expertise. We were particularly impressed with his vision in the area of education, which is something that needs developing at the

museum, and in museums in Holland generally."

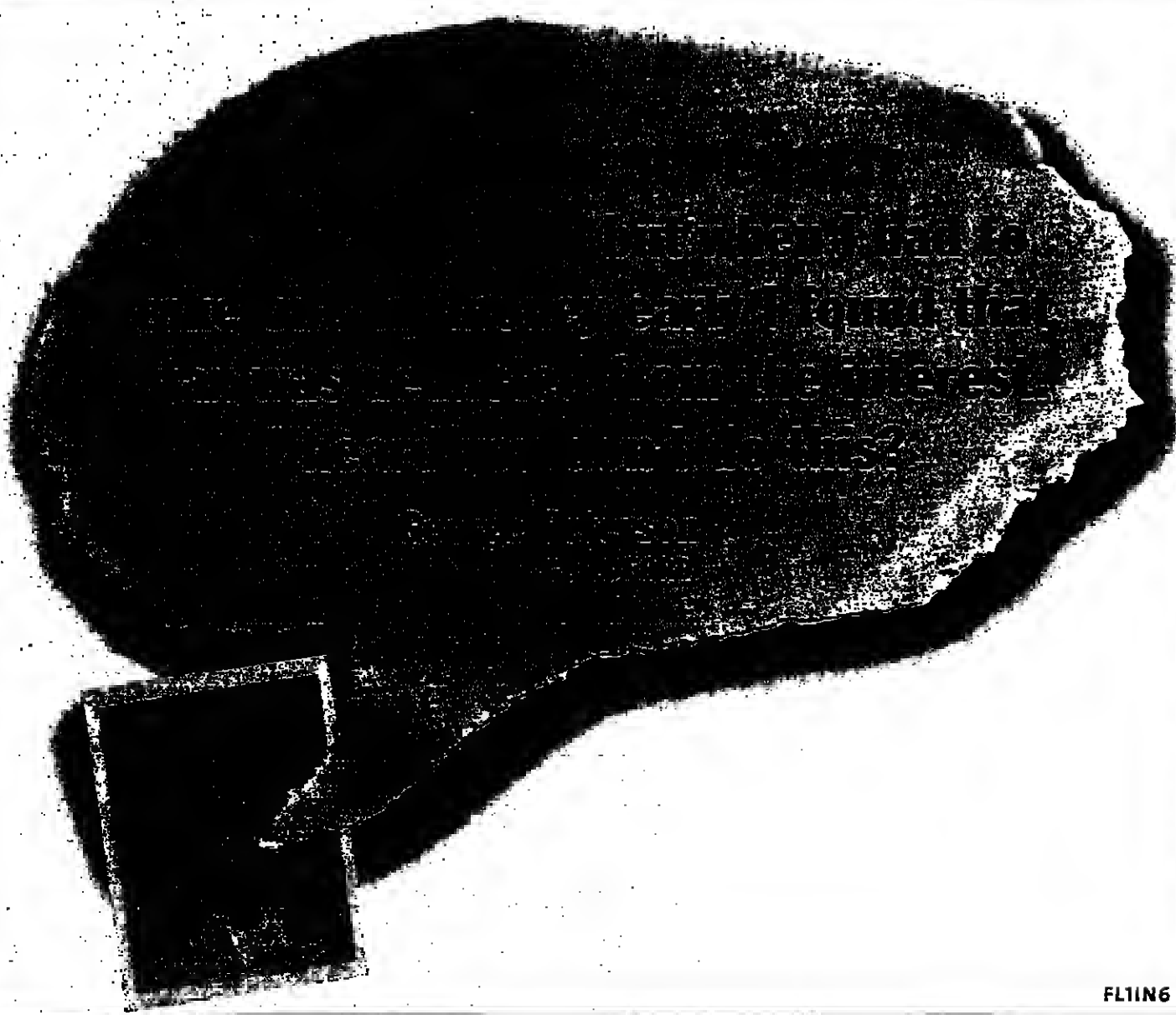
Mr Leighton is married to Gillian Keay who is the paintings conservator at the Guildhall Gallery in the City of London. They have two children.

The director of the National Gallery, Neil MacGregor, com-

mented: "We are all delighted and honoured that John Leighton has been chosen as director of this famous European museum. His promise as a young curator at the gallery has been triumphantly fulfilled. We are very sorry to lose him but immensely proud of his achievement."

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## news

## Judges free women who refused to testify



Sarah Holt: Attack left her face 'unrecognisable'

Michael Streeter

Two women jailed after refusing to testify against a man accused of assaulting one of them walked free yesterday after the Court of Appeal ruled that it had been an "exceptional case". Sarah Holt, 20, and her friend, Sophie Bird, 22, were sentenced for contempt at Chelmsford Crown Court eight days ago for refusing to testify against the younger woman's ex-boyfriend, Alex Fryatt. They later claimed they had been intimidated and feared reprisals if they gave evidence.

Mr Fryatt, who had been accused of GBH with intent and was alleged to have stamped on Ms Holt's face, was acquitted

when the prosecution offered no further evidence.

After yesterday's Appeal Court ruling two women issued a statement saying they were "delighted" at the verdict. The statement, read by Ms Holt's grandfather, Len Holt, said: "They rather feel that the legal system has let them down but at least they are thankful that the court has today seen fit to correct what they feel was injustice." He said the women were still nervous and frightened and were looking forward to returning to their families and resuming a normal life.

In their judgment, read by Lord Justice Roch, the Appeal judges said they had considered

able understanding of the decision by the trial judge, Mr Justice Benjamin Pearson, to imprison the women after their refusal to testify at the Chelmsford Crown Court hearing, which had been due to start on 16 September.

Lord Justice Roch said the judge had not been told that Ms Holt, who suffered a fractured jaw and whose face was "unrecognisable" after the attack, and her friend had been subjected to continuous intimidation before the trial.

The judges also criticised the pair for failing to disclose intimidation of their barrister, and pointed out that Mr Holt had not sought legal advice before the hearing last Tuesday

which imprisoned her. "They have been foolish in their approach to the legal advice they have been offered," said Lord Justice Roch.

Nevertheless, in what was an exceptional case, there had been a failure to apply Crown Prosecution Service guidelines for domestic violence cases, which allowed for a delay when key witnesses were frightened to give evidence. There had been no consideration either of allowing written statements to be used instead under Section 23 of the 1988 Criminal Justice Act, which Parliament had intended to help deal with the "growing ruthlessness of criminals and their associates." The judges urged that more use be

made of this section in similar cases. They also criticised the trial judge for not adjourning the hearing for a day before deciding the two women had committed contempt.

In quashing the sentences of three months' youth custody for Ms Holt and two months' jail for Ms Bird, the judges recognised they had suffered the "trauma" of imprisonment and "the clang of the prison gates." They substituted sentences of one week each, which effectively allowed them to walk free after eight days in Holloway Prison and, in Ms Holt's case, Drake Hall Open Prison, Staffordshire.

Earlier, their counsel, Alun Jones QC, said the trial judge's sentence had set the wrong

message and could deter witnesses of rape, stalking and violence against children from coming forward for fear they could be jailed themselves.

Quoting *Bleak House*, he said the message sent out had been "suffer any wrong that can be done to you rather than come here". The public would simply not understand why two women of good character, if lacking in sophistication, had been dealt with in this way. The judge had lacked sensitivity, and, as a result, the two had suffered the "alien" experience of being put in cells where they had been offered drugs. The women, both from Waltham Abbey, Essex, are believed to have sold their story to a newspaper.



Sophie Bird: She and her friend feared reprisals

## Foreign Office fails families who suffer tragedies abroad

Ian Burrell

The Isherwood family were on their first foreign holiday. On the grassy verge beside a quiet road on the Greek island of Crete, Howard Isherwood pushed his four-year-old son, David, in a buggy as his wife, Joan, walked beside them with their other son, Andrew, nine.

Almost unnoticed, a white Toyota appeared from nowhere at high speed and ploughed into them, killing both the boys.

The tragedy signalled the start of an eight-year battle for justice which the Isherwoods have had to fight alone.

In the latest shocking twist to their story, the Greek courts are asking the couple to contribute £2,000 towards prison meals for those responsible for their children's death. The Government has not been able to help.

Last night, the Foreign Office said it had drawn up new guidelines for the relatives of Britons who die overseas. The guidance follows a succession of complaints from grieving families about lack of official support.

A spokesman for the FO said: "Quite often, people assume that we are able to do more than we can. Relatives

tend to think 'I am a tax-payer, therefore HMG can pay to repatriate my relative's body.'

"HMG cannot do that. We do not have a budget to do so. But we can put people in touch with professional undertakers who can carry out that service."

News of the guidelines follows the distressing case of the Cunningham family who were informed by the FO that their son, Paul, had died in Malaysia of a drugs overdose.

Doreen Cunningham, 49, began making arrangements for the funeral of her son, who was 25, after being told that he had died after swallowing 43 condoms packed with heroin. In fact, the dead body belonged to a drugs smuggler who was carrying a stolen passport which the young British graduate only reported missing 10 days after he was thought to have died.

Mrs Cunningham said: "At the time, I could never imagine he was involved in drugs. It was the worst thing a mother could ever imagine. I must have phoned the Foreign Office a dozen times to check there hadn't been a mistake."

The Cunninghams' experience did not surprise Brian Simpson, Labour's MEP for

Cheshire East, who has campaigned for the Isherwoods.

He said: "I just don't believe that our Foreign Office helps British citizens who are abroad and in trouble as much as other EU member states."

Among those who are angry at their treatment by the FO is Simon Regan, whose half-brother, Angus Wilson, publisher of the satirical magazine, *Spiked*, died in a car crash in Northern Cyprus in September.

Mr Regan said the family had expected the FO to fly Mr James' body back for burial. He was shocked when they were asked for £2,500 to cover the cost. He was even more horrified when the body arrived.

"Poor Angus had been sent back in a cheeseboard box which had been tacked up loosely," he said. "The tacks had come undone and the body had been partly exposed. On top of this rough crate, someone had tacked on a piece of metal which resembled a cross."

British undertakers asked the family for an extra £500 to pay for a proper coffin. Outraged, Mr Regan complained to the FO. "It does appear that Her Britannic Majesty's Consul doesn't give much of a damn



Cause for complaint: Andrew Wilson, who died in Cyprus last month. His family paid £2,500 to fly his body home

Photograph: Andrew Burr man

about Her Britannic Majesty's subjects once they become corpses."

Tracie Miles, whose brother, Paul, and his girlfriend, Joanna Suckland, were murdered while hitch-hiking in Uttar Pradesh in India is also bitter. Four

years after the deaths, the families have not been able to retrieve the couple's possessions. "It was a nightmare," said Ms Miles. "The whole thing is just appalling. I am bitter and I am angry. The Foreign Office say they will keep you up-to-date but

they don't. They are really not interested. The new FO guidelines at least let people know where they stand. As well as telling them that a British consulate can advise on the cost of a local burial and offering to help transfer money from

friends or relatives, they also warn that British officials cannot investigate possible crimes or contribute to burial expenses.

The advice has come too late for Joan Isherwood, but she is a never-say-die battler. "It was

quite horrendous. We were in a tragic situation; our only two children were killed and I myself was at death's door."

"To then return to your native land and find that there is very little support is like a kick below the belt."

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# Why teachers at this ill-fated comprehensive will strike unless a tenth of their pupils are expelled

Fran Abrams  
Education Correspondent

The sprawling buildings of The Ridings School were empty yesterday, apart from a handful of workmen doing half-term maintenance. Outside the gates, a gaggle of small boys had gathered, wheeling around on bikes and feeding small half-truths to the waiting press. On the edge of a Halifax council estate, the latest act in the great school discipline drama was being unravelled.

Most of the main players were elsewhere, but it still seemed that this rather bleak collection of brick, concrete and pre-fab might hold a key to something. Why had a school, opened amid unbounded enthusiasm less than two years ago, spun into decline so fast that staff may strike unless 60 pupils are excluded or disciplined? Why did a head who once talked of "wonderful opportunities" and of "looking to the 21st century" resign last Friday, complaining of exhaustion and disappointment? And, more crucially, was the crisis at The Ridings just a symptom of a rising tide of indiscipline and moral decay among the nation's youth?

The answer to the last question is almost certainly "no", but the story of this ill-fated comprehensive may indeed hold some lessons for those involved in an increasingly pressing debate on how we should cope with disruptive pupils.

All the elements are here. Stones thrown at teachers, staff punched and kicked by pupils, even a pregnant 13-year-old excluded after a fight with her boyfriend. This could be the perfect tale of social disintegration in the 1990s: just the thing that Frances Lawrence, whose head teacher husband, Philip, was murdered outside his London comprehensive last December, has been talking about.

But, of course, things are never quite that simple. Even the staff of The Ridings, who have announced a ballot on industrial action after a number of violent incidents, say the majority of their 600 pupils are nothing short of a delight.

And if a general lack of prayer and stiff upper lip were entirely to blame, a cynic might be forgiven for asking how some inner-city schools manage to impose a calm, orderly atmosphere without having to rid themselves of a tenth of their pupils.

This school was never going to be an easy proposition. Created in January 1995 from two council estate comprehensives, each of them with falling rolls



Front line: Sarah Taylor, 13, (left) of The Ridings School in Halifax is one of the pupils who was excluded by headmistress, Karen Stansfield (right)



Photographs: AP/Guzelian/Halifax Courier

and declining reputations, it was bound to find itself with many of the area's most difficult teenagers.

Nor were the surroundings into which these pupils were deposited likely to inspire. Behind an imposing Art Deco front flanked by foliage-lined steps, even an extra £4.5 million promised by Calderdale council for a facelift has been unable to eradicate cramped conditions and poor facilities. The site is so open that staff have had to put up with abuse from members of the public during games lessons, and truants can easily wander away.

Despite all this, things seemed to go smoothly enough for the first year or so. Exam results were poor last year and a third of the pupils left with no qualifications whatsoever, but with the merger just six months before GCSE time, this could be forgiven. Head-teacher Karen Stansfield and her staff brought in a programme called "Discipline for Learning" - highly successful elsewhere - and tried to order their pupils' lives around a rigid system of sanctions and rewards. So far, so good.

It was in January this year that Brian Garvey, local executive member of the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, was first called in. "There had been a few problems with assaults on staff, but they were generally dealt with quite amicably," he said. "In most cases the pupils were removed and other forms of education were found for them." He believes a discipline clampdown at that stage could have prevented the current situation.

Then, in March, 13-year-old Sarah Taylor was excluded after a fight with her boyfriend in

which a member of staff was allegedly pushed. An appeals committee overturned the decision but her parents agreed to withdraw her after 31 members of the NASUWT, who make up the majority of staff, threatened to strike. Ten days ago Sarah, who had been hiding her pregnancy, gave birth to a baby girl.

But the conclusion of this incident last month did not bring an end to the school's troubles. Staff began to report that a minority of pupils were rejecting the school's disciplinary system and were out of control. Truancy levels were too high, they said, cars were often vandalised and fireworks had been thrown in the grounds.

By now, Mr Garvey had become a regular visitor and a further hall of industrial action was called.

Schools inspectors, due in December, are bound to have many criticisms. Yesterday, the education secretary, Gillian Shephard, said that if their visit had not already been fixed, she would have sent in an emergency team. The local authority has promised extra money and support.

It would be easy to read too much into this sad story of a school in trouble. The pressures under which the school battles are well-documented. Unemployment here is high, single-parent families are common. Grant-maintained schools are creaming off some of the best

pupils and disciplinary sanctions, which teachers claim used to work - indefinite exclusion, for example - are no longer available. However, all these problems exist elsewhere and they do not add up to a crisis of this scale. Yesterday, the chair of governors, Reverend Stan Brown, was not giving interviews or, for that matter, clues as to the root of the trouble. A message on his answer-phone bore a faintly exasperated tone: "There are 600 sensible pupils at The Ridings School who deserve a great deal better than the attention they are being given at the present time. We will work in their best interests," it said.

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### Pupils v teachers A question of discipline

DECEMBER 1995 - Head teacher Philip Lawrence, of St George's School, Maida Vale, north London, as he defends a pupil from a knife attack.

APRIL 1996: Staff at Glendale School, Nottingham, threaten strike action after 13-year-old Richard Widing is excluded for allegedly attacking teachers and pupils, but is returned by an appeals panel. Richard is awarded a deal in which Richard is taught in a special unit and the school is paid for his care.

MAY: Gillian Cross, head of St. Albans Comprehensive in South London, is returned to school after allegedly kicking a teacher. Teachers threaten strike, but the boy is allowed back in isolation.

JULY: Teachers at Manton Primary School in Worsley, Nottinghamshire, announce a ballot after governors overturn the head's decision to exclude Matthew Wilson, a disruptive 10-year-old.

SEPTEMBER: More than 30 children are kept away from Manton in protest at governors' action. Matthew is promised individual tuition at a cost of £14,000 a year.

SEPTEMBER: Andrew Emon, aged seven, is awarded legal aid to challenge his exclusion from Wellacre Infants' School, in Trafford, Greater Manchester. He had refused to sign a "good behaviour" contract after apparently biting a teacher and hitting and kicking other children. His parents say he is hyperactive.

OCTOBER: Teachers at Farnham County High School hold ballots after an appeals panel overturns the exclusion of a teenage boy who has hit a teacher on the nose.

OCTOBER: Staff at The Ridings say they will take action against 60 of their 600 pupils are excluded or disciplined. They say either the school has broken down. The head had one of two deputies resign.

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## news

# Call for minister of child welfare

Patricia Wynn Davies  
Legal Affairs Editor

A national commission of inquiry into child abuse called yesterday for a fundamental shift of emphasis and resources towards the prevention of child abuse, and for independent commissioners to promote children's rights and welfare.

There should also be a new minister for children, at minister of state level, with a brief to co-ordinate child protection policy across Whitehall, the inquiry said.

Chaired by Lord Williams of Mostyn QC, a Labour peer, the commission was set up by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and has spent two years taking evidence.

A third plank of its report, published yesterday, is a call for a change of cultural attitude – "a new perception of children not as possessions but as individuals with rights and developing responsibilities of their own". A public education exercise was urgently needed for schools, parents and would-be parents.

The report comes amid angry responses to the Government's decision to leave plans for a national register of sex offenders out of today's Queen's Speech – having earlier promoted the move in its law and order programme. This and related employment and DNA testing proposals could be put before Parliament in a Private Members' Bill.

The commission calls for information to be recorded and co-ordinated about all those found guilty of, cautioned or subjected to formal disciplinary action for any kind of assault against children or other serious misdemeanour that has placed children at risk.

It points out, however, that despite instances of abuse of children by strangers or members of paedophile rings, most abuse is committed by people children have most reason to trust: members of or individuals known to their own family, or people entrusted with their care. The current cost to statu-

tory and voluntary agencies is £1bn a year. "Most of this money is spent on providing limited support and services after abuse has occurred rather than on initiatives to stop abuse happening," the report says. "This cannot be an effective use of resources."

A common element in almost all instances of abuse or neglect is that much of what is happening has been known to, or at least strongly suspected by someone other than the abuser, the commission emphasised.

The problem, estimates suggest, is widespread, with at least one in 10 children at some point in their childhood at risk of significant harm and likely to be suffering from physical, emotional, sexual or other forms of abuse or neglect.

The report was welcomed by social services organisations. The chairman of the Association of Directors of Social Services children and families committee, Brian Waller, said: "We all hope that this report will focus public attention not only on the extent of child abuse in its various forms but also on the wide range of recommendations which need to be acted on if children's lives are to be made safer."

David Colvin, an assistant director of the British Association of Social Workers, said: "The report focuses on prevention. Who could disagree with that? Current policies are child-centred, but largely related to abuse after it has happened." Mr Colvin said that one in every 1,000 children in the country was on an "at risk" register because of fears of sexual abuse.

Victims of child sexual abuse must launch civil claims against their abusers within six years of their 18th birthdays, according to a ruling yesterday by the European Court of Human Rights. The court turned down applications for four female victims of serious abuse that British courts had wrongly ruled that their damages claims were out of time, even though one of the effects of the abuse was to prevent them from appreciating for many years that it was the cause of later mental problems.



Café society: St Anne's Square, which was damaged by the IRA bomb four months ago

Photograph: Phil Noble/Newstream

## The cream of Manchester: will we fudge our best chance to recreate a city centre?

Architects on shortlist must rise to opportunity of a lifetime, writes Jonathan Glancey

The team of architects and planners chosen next month from a shortlist of five announced by Michael Heseltine yesterday to rebuild the centre of Manchester four months on from the IRA bomb that injured 220 people and caused immense damage to commercial and retail are being offered the chance of a lifetime: nothing less than managing the biggest city-centre regeneration project in Britain since the Luftwaffe opened the way for major redevelopment in the Forties.

A look at the plans and models for the project, which go on show at Manchester City Hall this weekend, shows that none of the shortlisted plans offers the glamour, excitement or drama Mancunians might expect and deserve. At its peak in the late nineteenth century, Manchester was one of the country's most distinctive cities, a place of grand warehouses and grandiose civic buildings by some of Britain's finest architects. In recent years it has become one of the liveliest cities, famous for its nightlife and cafés and bars.

Here, however, there is no Manchester of the twenty-first century. Instead, all five shortlisted entrants to Manchester's International Urban Design Competition offer a plethora of urban-design clichés that we have come to expect in the Nineties: tree-lined boulevards, new city squares, flats and houses, a winter garden, a remodelled Arndale Centre, city walks, a new bus-station, pollution-free forms of urban transport, a waterside piazza on the Salford Bank and every idea that has popped up in ur-



As it was: Manchester, one of our most distinctive cities

Photograph: Hulton Getty

ban design theory and practice over the past 10 or 15 years. Each team is at pains to stress how green Manchester will become if it wins. Each posits the idea of wooing the professional middle classes back into the city centre. Each is a vision, more or less and in a variety of styles, of Richard Rogers's café society (where decaffeinated cappuccino replaces pints of Boddingtons) and, possibly the better for it.

The ingredients are more or less right, yet none of the five hopefuls is entirely convincing. This is largely, perhaps, because the task of redesigning a major city centre is not something that can be undertaken lightly or too speedily. The five contenders began work in mid-July; they had to hurry, but, like London in the aftermath of the Great Fire of 1666, the city is in a hurry to get down to brass tacks. The City of London was able to rebuild relatively quickly after the recent IRA bomb blast because it was effectively doing no more, and no less, than replacing like with like, one slick Seventies office block for a slick Nineties office block.

The plans and models of the five rival schemes will be on

show at Manchester City Hall, in Albert Square. However, they are largely incomprehensible to anyone without training in architecture or town planning. But there is little doubt the

winning team will abandon its first hasty thoughts and begin again from scratch.

What it needs to do is to win and then negotiate sufficient time to think the rebuilding

through carefully and, if possible, to add the missing magic ingredient. Call it inspiration, call it imagination, but so far it is lacking.

With luck, and a lot of thought, this will result in a scheme that will create a city centre that will rival the best modern Europe has to offer.

The five teams shortlisted are Holliday Meecham Architects with Richard Reid Associates, EDAA (Urban Design and Economic Development, Simpson Associates, Benoy and Alan Baxter), Building Design Partnership with Donaldsons, Manchester First (too many consultants to mention, but a wealth of local talent, from architects to traffic engineers), and another large team of experts led by the architects and planners Llewellyn Davies.

The full cost of rebuilding is not yet known. As the 3,300lb bomb that exploded on 15 July destroyed 49,000 square metres

of prime retail space and another 57,000 square metres of city-centre offices, and as the plans for the future are ambitious, the price will be high. Funding is expected to come from the Millennium Commission, the EU, English Partnerships, the Lord Mayor's Emergency Appeal Fund and local business.

A task force was set up immediately in response to the bombing, bringing the public and private sector together to manage the recovery and reconstruction.

The competition was the initiative of Mr Heseltine, who has long campaigned for re-energised city centres. The results deserve to match the energy and faith that have gone into the project so far. It might, however, have been a good idea if Manchester had decided to announce the winner of the competition on any other day than 5 November.

### Seven steps to help the helpless

#### Key recommendations of the Commission:

- Government departments should co-operate to develop a "business plan for children" designed to shift investment to a preventive approach.
- The report repeats previous calls for the establishment of a General Social Services Council.
- There should be more judges specially trained for children's proceedings.
- In child prostitution cases the criminal process should focus on clients and pimps who exploit children.
- Those working with adults should be trained to recognise the risks to children implicit in their client's situation.
- A public-education campaign to raise awareness of abuse and of what action people should take when they are concerned about a child.
- Children's Commissioners should provide the media with the kind of "authoritative" information that is currently lacking.

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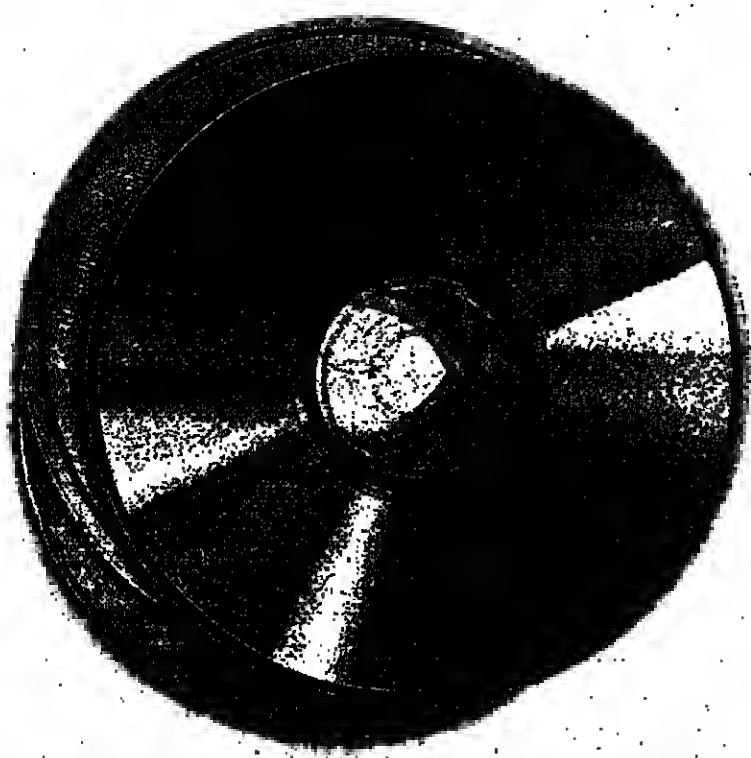
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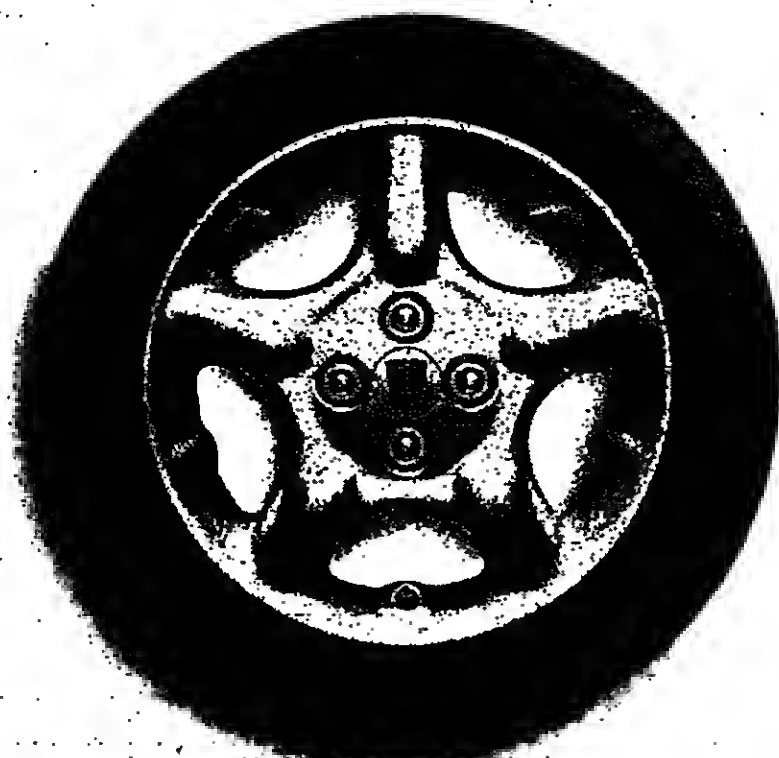
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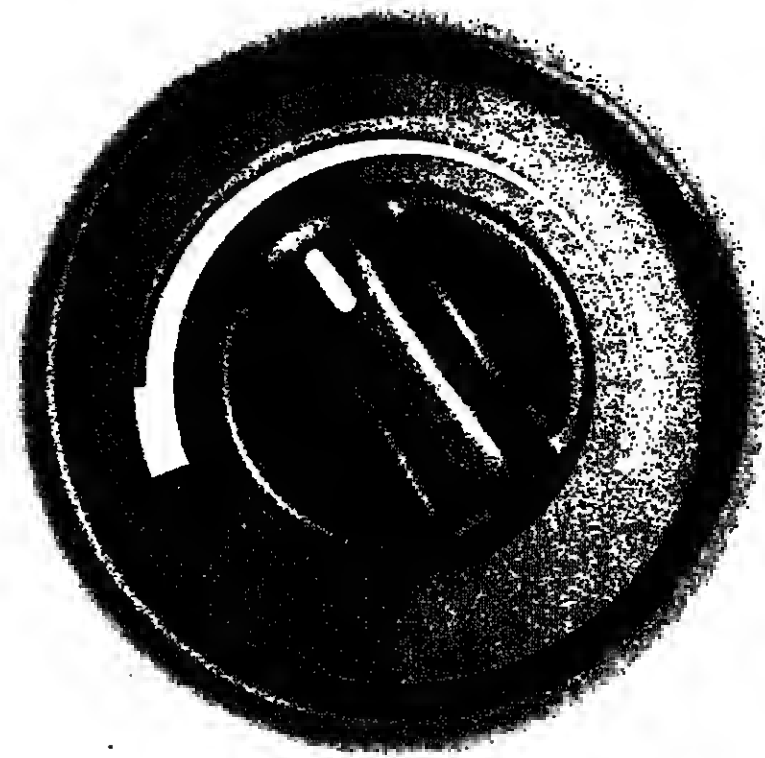
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## news

# Desperate hill farmers face bleak winter



Feeling the squeeze: Farmers like Tony Flintoft are suffering big losses as cattle prices continue to slump

Photograph: Tom Pilsten

**BSE crisis: Beef producers to lobby Westminster as plummeting cattle prices raise spectre of bankruptcy**

Stephen Goodwin

Hill farmers in the north-east of England are taking a financial hammering in the traditional autumn cattle sales as the price of calves has tumbled by up to £150 a head in the wake of the BSE crisis.

Today, more than 2,000 farmers from across Britain will converge on London to lobby MPs after the opening of Parliament. Sir David Naish, president of the National Farmers' Union, is due to go to 10 Downing Street to urge the Prime Minister to do more to help the stricken beef industry.

Farmers who fatten beef animals have suffered serious financial losses since the crisis broke in March, with auction prices down by about 25 per cent. Beef bulls, which typically might have sold for £675 a year ago, have been fetching around £500 – barely covering the cost of the calf, let alone its feed.

The knock-on effect is being

felt with a vengeance by hill farmers, many of whom sell the offspring of their suckler cows to lowland beef finishers in autumn sales. According to a report issued by the NFU's North East region yesterday, early sale prices have fallen by up to 29 per cent on last year.

Many mixed upland and livestock farms rely heavily on cattle production and cuts in income from finished and store cattle [which include suckler calves] have come as a devastating blow," said Kevin Pearce, the region's senior policy adviser.

Traditional hill farmers are between a rock and a hard place. They usually only have sheds to over-winter suckler cows and their new calves; feed costs are high and winter lasts a long time on the edge of the moors. They must sell stock in the autumn, but this year beef finishers are wary buyers.

Richard Thornton, who farms at Kirkwhelpington in Northumberland, has sold 80 animals since the crisis broke at prices £120 to £140 a head down on last year. "It doesn't take a genius to work out that that is an awful lot of money straight out of the farm's profit margins. Nobody can go on making the sort of losses we have suffered this year."

Mr Thornton will not be at tomorrow's rally. If he was, his message to ministers would be

to begin a selective cull of cattle judged at highest risk in order to get the European Union ban to lift the ban on British beef exports. "We have to make a start because the EU won't move otherwise," he said. "At the moment, the moment the door is slammed shut and there is nothing but darkness."

Mr Thornton's view was shared by the majority of farmers involved in the NFU survey – covering Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland.

Mr Pearce said there was "an overwhelming need" for an increase in the subsidy to hill farmers – to be announced in the Budget – but the survey revealed farmers "increasingly disillusioned" in the ability of politicians to address their long-term concerns.

Farmers in Wales are threatening to drive their message home by fielding candidates against Tory MPs in marginal seats. The power of the rural vote could be decisive in the Vale of Glamorgan and Brecon and Radnor which the Conservatives held by 19 votes and 130 votes respectively.

Writing in the *Western Mail*, Bob Parry, president of the Farmers' Union of Wales, said fielding candidates would be "an extreme measure" but he was not prepared to see agriculture "sacrificed on the altar of political expediency".

*BT cut 20% off national evening calls.*

## Young people doomed to live at 'status zero'

Glenda Cooper

More than 100,000 young people have become "status zero" and unless urgent action is taken more will follow them down the same route, a Catholic charity warned yesterday.

Entering the moral debate, the Depaul Trust called on society and the Government to help the numbers of young people who are becoming marginalised from society and face the future with no hope.

Status zero is a term used by sociologists to describe the increasing numbers of young people who have effectively ceased to be part of mainstream society.

The Depaul Trust said that an Identikit picture of a "Status Zero" person is someone living with one or neither parent, or in the care system.

He or she [although it is mainly young men] had a poor record at school with a history of truancy and would have left school at 16, drifting in and out of government training schemes. He spends the majority of his time with people of the same age, involved in crime and drug-taking, with no means of independent financial support, living in an inner-city area – probably a large council estate. He may well live at home but is on the brink of being kicked out as he will bring no wages and no benefits. His family can no longer afford him and the state offers him nothing. He will probably be homeless soon.

The Depaul Trust, which provides emergency nightshelters for 16- to 25-year-olds, commissioned this research after seeing 5,000 young people in its shelters since 1989.

For 16- to 25-year-old "status zeros" employment prospects have dramatically diminished, said the charity. Under 25s account for more than one in four of all those unemployed. On training schemes the drop-out rate is as high as 44 per cent and nearly half a million under 25s earn £2.50 or less per hour.

Massive increases in rents and the lack of benefit entitlement make it impossible for many young people to find a home of their own. Ethnic minorities are particularly likely to end up living in run-down housing in the inner-cities.

The charity also warns that trends point towards younger people abusing drugs and alcohol and there is a strong link between substance misuse and crime. The mental health of young people is also particularly worrying with the suicide rate amongst young men increasing by 75 per cent since 1979.

"We should have high aspirations for young people, we should not just be offering them a safety net," said Jackie Hall, the author of the report.

The charity called on the Government and voluntary organisations to invest in the infrastructure of communities – for example schools, youth clubs, lodging and family reconciliation schemes, and education and training opportunities.

Trevor MacDonald, newsreader for ITN, and the charity's president, said: "I don't think we can call ourselves a modern up-to-date civilised society until we pay some attention to people who are coming up. We need to enable young people to develop and flourish and stand on their own."

### DAILY POEM

**archy and mehitabel: the tired ghost**

By Don Marquis

well boss i have finally succeeded in getting into touch with that ghost that loafs around here he is a sort of tired out timid kind of ghost and says he wants it understood that he is doing no haunting he hangs around your office nights because it is quiet he says and he hopes you won't be harsh with him and put him out he is hiding from a bunch of spiritualists he says one medium in particular has been working him nearly to distraction he told me some of his experiences with spiritualists and it is a most pathetic tale which i will communicate to you later

archy

mehitabel the alley cat (motto: *toujours gai*) makes less frequent appearances in the cache of Don Marquis's "lost" archy and mehitabel tales found in a Brooklyn warehouse and first published this year. "mehitabel, the only cat i ever really loved," wrote Gerald Gould. Rebecca West thought her "a divine creature". Marquis's *archy and mehitabel* and *archy's life of mehitabel* still sell thousands of copies a year. A posthumous *archyology: the long lost tales of archy and mehitabel* is published this month by Bloodaxe at £7.95.

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## Europe in the Middle East: French premier threatens to cut short trip as Royal Navy returns

### Britain to send new Gulf naval flotilla

Christopher Bellamy  
Defence Correspondent

Britain is sending an aircraft carrier group into the Persian Gulf next month, the first time since 1992. It is a gesture of support for the Americans who, according to naval sources, have been feeling somewhat "lonely" in the region.

The group, primarily designed to deal with hostile aircraft, will comprise the carrier HMS *Invincible*, escorted by two or three Type 42 destroyers and two Royal Fleet Auxiliary support ships. Early next year another large British force, centred on the carrier HMS *Illustrious*, will pass through the Gulf region en route for exercises in the Far East.

Armed Forces Minister Nicholas Soames, who is visiting the Gulf states, said it was "important for countries like Iran and Iraq to see that it's not only Americans who are prepared to pull their weight in this region in pursuit of stability and peace". He added that Iran in particular "needs extremely careful watching." The US says Iran is a state which supports international terrorism, and there is widespread concern that ex-Soviet *Kilo*-class submarines in Iranian hands could cut off the supply of oil from the Gulf. Iraq also remained "a real problem for us", Mr Soames said. "Saddam shows no sign of diminishing adventurism. Until he conforms entirely to all UN Security Council resolutions it will remain a most unsatisfactory state of affairs."

The *Invincible* group will take part in manoeuvres known as "Gulfex", which will last throughout November, and return home for Christmas. Britain has maintained a naval presence in the Gulf in the form of the Armilla patrol, and was one of the few countries to support US cruise missile attacks against targets in southern Iraq at the beginning of last month. The French also have a naval force in the area but have been less active in co-operation with the US.



Space invader: Jacques Chirac fending off an Israeli security guard during his ill-tempered visit to Jerusalem's Old City yesterday Photograph: AP

## Chirac fury at 'provocation'

Patrick Cockburn  
Jerusalem

Angered by heavy-handed Israeli security, French President Jacques Chirac threatened yesterday to cut short his visit to Israel and shouted at an Israeli police chief during a walk in Jerusalem's Old City.

"I'm starting to have had enough of this," Mr Chirac said speaking in French as Israeli police linked arms to stop Palestinians and foreign journalists approaching him. He then told a security chief in English: "This is not a method, this is a provocation."

The French president, his face flushed with anger, raised his voice as he said: "What do you want me to go back to my plane and go back to France? Is that what you want? Let them go." A spokesman for Mr

Chirac said that he had requested a light security presence.

After a meeting with Mr Chirac later in the day, the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, told reporters: "I want first of all to apologise for what happened this morning. We did that for a good cause, to protect a friend."

"I explained that since the Rabin murder, our security officials are extremely strict about protecting public figures."

It is more likely, however, that the belligerence of Israeli security men was intended to underline to Mr Chirac that Israel controls the Old City of Jerusalem where 25,000 out of the 28,000 population are Palestinian.

and the return of the Golan Heights to Syria.

Police in Jerusalem have a record of brutality and excessive use of force which has been heavily criticised over the last year by everybody from ultra-orthodox Jews to Christian boy scouts. An investigation by B'Tselem, the Israeli human rights organisation, of police actions on Temple Mount on 27 September revealed "widespread, reckless and illegal use of force, including lethal force, that left three people dead and more than 100 wounded".

At another stage in his tour of the Old City, as he reached the entrance to Haram al-Sharif, the site of Islam's third holiest shrine, Mr Chirac tried to push away Israeli police, saying: "No security now. I don't want you. Go away. You have no business here." France

later filed an official complaint with the Israeli government.

Mr Chirac is tomorrow to address the Palestinian legislative council, the first foreign leader to do so, and during his visit to the Israeli Knesset a right-wing party leader shouted that he was an anti-Semite.

There are signs of growing violence on the West Bank as talks on Israeli redeployment from Hebron continue without any result. Israeli soldiers yesterday shot dead a Palestinian teenager throwing stones at them.

The shooting in a village near Ramallah followed the killing earlier in the day of a Palestinian motorist whose car was hit by a rocket on a road near a Jewish settlement in the West Bank.

Meanwhile Dennis Ross, the US peace envoy, dropped his

plans to leave the Middle East, missing his plane to Washington because of last-minute hopes of a breakthrough on civilian issues rather than military security.

Earlier, angry PLO negotiators described Israeli delegates' attitudes as that of "occupiers toward the occupied". "Unfortunately the head of the Israeli delegation treats the Palestinian negotiators as if he is a military leader, and not as a negotiator," said a senior PLO security official Mohammed Dahlan of Dan Shomron, a former Israeli army chief.

Israel accuses the Palestinian delegation of wanting to string out the negotiations on Hebron until after the US presidential elections in the belief that President Clinton will then be better placed to put pressure on Mr Netanyahu.

Leading article, page 15

## UK restarts arms sales to Argentina

Christopher Bellamy  
Defence Correspondent

Britain is supplying spare parts for Rolls-Royce engines in Argentine warships. But Parliament has not been told the rules banning the supply of military hardware to the Argentine forces, which were introduced after the Falklands war, have changed or been reinterpreted.

The news that Britain has been quietly resupplying the Argentine Navy with official consent since last Spring will be highly embarrassing for the British government, which insists the embargo is unchanged, and is likely to outrage the Falkland Islanders and those who lost family or friends in the conflict in 1982.

The decision to recommence the supply of parts for the Tyne engines coincided with the start of informal talks with Argentina to secure its cooperation on the exploitation of oil fields around the Falkland Islands. But in October last year the Government reiterated that "military equipment falls under the terms of the embargo [introduced after the Falklands war] and will not be licensed for export".

Rolls-Royce's decision to resupply the Argentine Navy is revealed in the second of two Channel 4 *Dispatches* investigations, to be screened tomorrow. The first programme revealed how M16 had allowed the embargo to be circumvented in the late 1980s to gain detailed intelligence from within the Argentine military. The second programme reveals that Rolls-Royce and the Department of Trade and Industry changed their interpretation of the embargo rules but did not tell anybody else, including Parliament.

Contracts for exploration of the sea bed in the south Atlantic, which require Argentine co-operation, are due to be announced by Monday. Next week, the Argentine Chief of Defence Staff, Lieutenant General Martin Balza, is visiting Britain as part of a rapprochement between the two countries.

Six Argentine warships, including two British-built Type-42 Destroyers, are powered by



Admiral Marcelo Loza: Navy maintenance 'up to date'

Rolls Royce Tyne and Olympus engines. Until Spring last year the supply of Tyne engine parts from Britain to Argentina was clearly prohibited, which caused the Argentine Navy considerable problems. It was this which led them to approach M16 man in Argentina, Clive Russell, to ask for help in 1987, opening the way for him to penetrate the top-secret Argentine Navy base at Puerto Belgrano.

Channel 4 was able openly to gain access to Puerto Belgrano where an Argentine Admiral Marcelo Loza, proudly shows them a refurbished Rolls Royce Tyne engine which was on its way back to his flagship, the destroyer *Hercules*. He confirms that the Argentine Navy's Rolls-Royce turbine maintenance was "up to date".

In a letter dated to Channel 4 on 16 October, the DTI said the embargo on arms exports to Argentina remained in place but that it referred to any engine component or assembly "specifically designed to fulfil the requirements imposed by the combat environment of a warship". Therefore, the DTI had "advised the company that... would not require a licence to export other [Tyne engine] components which were not specifically designed or modified for military use". In other words, a licence was now required for most of the engine component. The letter concluded that the DTI's revised assessment "did not constitute either variation or relaxation of the embargo".

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Roman theatre: Fractious coalition reluctant to tackle problems besetting health service and Mafia-ridden south

# Italy's Olive Tree fails to bear fruit

Andrew Gumbel  
Rome

Six months ago, the Italian centre-left won its first general election since the war with promises of radical change in the way the country was governed, and an end to the chronic instability, corruption and creeping clientelism of the past. The victorious Olive Tree coalition is still in power - an achievement in itself, perhaps, in this most tawdry of political climates - but there are precious few signs of the much-promised revolution.

All the old symptoms are very much in evidence: the policy principles compromised by backroom dealing, the primacy of scheming party leaders over government ministers, the allegations of nepotism in public appointments and, perhaps most seriously, the near-paralysis in parliament making every piece of legislation a struggle of titanic proportions.

It is not that the government is particularly unpopular. If anything, it is still riding on the wave of cautious optimism that brought about its election in the first place. But there is no sense of a watershed as there was in Britain in 1979 when Margaret Thatcher broke the post-war consensus on the welfare state, or again in France in 1981 when François Mitterrand marched the left into power for the first time in 23 years.

Partly this has been for reasons beyond the control of Prime Minister Romano Prodi

and his partners in government. Not only have they inherited a political system that leaves much to be desired and cannot easily be changed, but they have also been faced with an agenda that leaves little room for manoeuvre. Cleaning up public finances in preparation for European monetary union has been their overriding preoccupation, leaving little time or resources to deal with chronic problems in the health service, in the postal system, in the under-developed and Mafia-ridden south, and so on.

Partly, too, the government has been a prisoner of its own coalition politics and of its fragile majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Whenever a new initiative is announced, Mr Prodi has to deal not only with the objections of the opposition, but very often with discontent within his own ranks too. The Olive Tree stretches from the collectivist far left of Rifondazione Comunista, which is not part of the government but contributes vital votes in parliament, to the free-market, pro-business faction of the Foreign Minister and former premier, Lamberto Dini. The two wings make little secret of detesting each other and frequently work to trip each other up, often recruiting other factions within the coalition to do so.

Such tensions have made parliament a volatile place. In many of the committees where the minutiae of legislation is worked out, the government has a majority of just one, making



Praying for a solution: Romano Prodi (left) has not touched Silvio Berlusconi's private media empire



Photographs: Reuters/AP

it easy for the opposition to take advantage of absences to shoot down draft laws paragraph by paragraph. The mood in the chamber is little better, as was illustrated 10 days ago when 28 of Mr Dini's deputies chose to stay away and the government went down to a humiliating defeat on a law providing emergency shelter to the homeless. As a result, the government has had to resort to the tactic employed by many of its predecessors - issuing 60-day decrees on vital issues and, if

necessary, renewing them when they lapse. But even this solution has come under threat. The constitutional court ruled this month that it was illegal to renew decrees without substantially altering their content, a decision that effectively took an axe to 53 planks of government policy that have yet to make their tortuous way through the parliamentary wringer. Mr Prodi's team is still trying to work out a solution to this, the latest of their many headaches. Some of the blame for the

slow progress of the past six months must also rest on the government's shoulders. Time and again it has proved over-cautious or behaved in ways reminiscent of the old system, especially with the media. First it replaced most of the hierarchy at the RAI, the state broadcasting system, with a line-up that looked suspiciously motivated by political allegiance rather than professional competence. As a result there has been a near-revolt both within the RAI and the governing coalition.

Furthermore, the government has gone against its own campaign pledge to rewrite the rules on media ownership, refusing to touch the private television empire belonging to the opposition leader, Silvio Berlusconi, even though a constitutional court ruling ordered him to sell at least one of his three stations by last August. The issue is up for renegotiation in January but there are few signs that this fragile government is prepared to risk Mr Berlusconi's fury.

For the moment, the government is clinging on partly because the parties making up the ruling coalition know there is no alternative, and partly because Mr Berlusconi's opposition has proved toothless. But politicians are in no doubt that any serious upset, in particular over Italy's qualification for European monetary union, would mean instant death for Mr Prodi's administration. Radical change, if it comes, will be slow and painful. The spectre of political instability, though tempered for the moment, still looms.

## Bosnian elections hit by further delay

Tony Barber  
Europe Editor

Municipal elections in Bosnia were postponed for a second time yesterday in what looked like a setback for Western efforts to prevent the partition of the former Yugoslav republic. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which supervised last month's Bosnian general elections, blamed "political difficulties in all areas of the country" for the postponement from next month until an unspecified date next spring.

The International Crisis Group (ICG), an independent monitoring organisation, said that the OSCE was right to delay the vote because war criminals were still at large, hardly any refugees had returned home and there was not enough freedom of movement in Bosnia. Even worse, houses belonging to Muslims in Serb-held areas are being blown up almost every day to deter their owners from returning.

The municipal elections could potentially be a basis for rebuilding the multi-national communities that made up Bosnia before 1992. However, it is precisely that prospect which has infuriated Bosnian Serb and Croat nationalists, who are determined to split Bosnia into rigid national zones.

The OSCE ruled last week that people were to vote only in municipalities where they had lived before the war. This raised the possibility that hundreds of thousands of Muslims, driven out of their homes during the war, would return to vote, thereby reversing or mitigating the effects of "ethnic cleansing".



Izetbegovic: Many Muslims favour postponement

Many Muslims loyal to President Alija Izetbegovic also favoured delaying the municipal polls. They say that up to 150,000 Muslim voters could be excluded from the elections because Bosnia's Muslim-Croat federation have not yet drawn up the boundaries of the new municipalities.

The postponement is the worst blow yet to the timetable for Bosnia's political reconstruction, set out in last year's Dayton peace agreement. A consequent extension of the OSCE's Bosnian mandate is likely to be agreed next month or in December.

The municipal elections, which had been due on 14 September, were delayed by international concerns that they would not be free or fair.

## Confidentiality fears as France launches new health 'smart card'

Mary Dejevsky  
Paris

Between now and the end of the year, 45 million French people - 80 per cent of the population - will be receiving through the post a blue and yellow booklet tantalisingly labelled "confidential". Small enough to fit in a pocket or handbag, this is the much-debated *carte de santé* - health book - and for the French public it is the first visible sign that the government's health service reform has really begun.

From January, anyone who visits a GP, specialist or hospital will have to produce the *carte* or risk not being able to claim back the costs. The doctor will be expected to record details in the relevant section of the booklet, to include the reason for the consultation, prescriptions issued, vaccinations given, X-rays, scans, any hospital

stays, blood group and allergies. A cross between a British NHS card and the patient's medical records, the *carte* will be the property of the patient and is designed to give any doctor consulted a summary of the patient's medical history. As presented by the health minister yesterday, its primary function is to ensure better continuity of care.

While appreciated by many people, especially those who travel or find themselves passed between doctors, the government's sales pitch of continuity and convenience is only half the story. The other half is a fierce controversy fuelled by fear that confidentiality will be breached and suspicion that the real intention is to cut costs.

To preserve confidentiality, the patient will be identified in the *carte* only by first name and social security number. "No

employer, workplace doctor or insurance company will have the right to see your *carte*", says the official information, and a doctor may omit certain information at the patient's request - for instance, a chronic illness or HIV status.

Officials also note that the *carte* is likely to be replaced by a smart card containing the same information, in as little as two years' time.

On cost-cutting, ministers prefer to stress the "need to stop postage", citing figures to show that France spends a higher proportion of its Gross Domestic Product on health than any other EU country (almost 10 per cent) and that doctors in France issue more than twice as many prescriptions per patient as doctors in Britain. The favourite bogey is a patient who consults several doctors for the same ailment, collecting prescriptions

from each, and legitimately claiming all the costs back from state-subsidised insurance.

The government hopes that the *carte* system will reduce this problem. Some patients, however, see any attempt to limit the number of doctors or prescriptions as a threat to their freedom to prescribe and may resist a system that could reduce the consultations they give - and so their pay.

The Health Ministry conceded yesterday that a pilot project introducing the *carte de santé* for pensioners on a voluntary basis had not been a success. An existing, compulsory, scheme for children is widely followed. Even so, the government is treading warily. There will be no punishment for anyone who fails to produce their *carte* before next July at the earliest.

## CDU consumed by burger culture

Imre Karacs  
Hanover

Germany's governing Christian Democrats wound up their national conference yesterday with a stirring call to brace themselves for austerity, shortly after they voted themselves free hamburgers.

The delegates gathered in Hanover approved a motion to allow McDonald's to sponsor future events by supplying Big Macs gratis, and were then lectured on economics by the Finance Minister, Theo Waigel. "These are damned tough times, and we have to tackle them together," he said.

Wolfgang Schäuble, the deputy leader, set out reforms the government plans to implement after the next elections in 1999. The budget would be cut by DM30bn (£13bn), 8 per cent of current expenditure. Where the savings would come from he did not say, though he indicated that welfare spending would be severely curtailed.

The tax system, described by another motion as "unfair and too complicated", was to be overhauled. Loopholes would be closed and tax breaks and subsidies would disappear.

The good news was that everybody would pay less tax. The top rate would come down

from 53 per cent to 35 per cent, while those now paying nearly 26 per cent would only forfeit a fifth of their wages. It is something to look forward to, though when the new tax system will come into effect is a source of intense debate within the coalition.

The Free Democrats, who like to pretend that they do more than just make up the numbers Chancellor Helmut Kohl requires for his majority, want the reforms to begin in 1998. The CDU is less optimistic that it can find the sums, and is hoping not to begin the greatest project since German unification until a year later.

Free Democrat sniping from the benches has angered government heavyweights, and there are times when the coalition resembles a squabbling family. Mr Waigel used the opportunity of yesterday's appearance to lash out again at his liberal colleagues. "There can't be two different roles in the coalition, with one side doing the dirty work in the quarry while the other side sells the marble," he said to applause.

That was, however, the limit of rancour at the event. One delegate did appear to dissent from the general mood of complacency - calling as he did for "no Mickey Mouse policies" -

but the vast majority supported their leaders. There was no debate about Europe, for instance, and other contentious issues were also swept under the carpet. Left-wing CDU members had prepared a resolution urging that long-standing foreign residents should be given German passports, but some how the issue never found its way to the conference floor.

Mr Schäuble set the tone by warning of a "catastrophe" if European Monetary Union failed, and Mr Waigel assured delegates that there would be no tinkering with the Maastricht criteria. Everybody went home happy.

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# German warning over EU expansion

Sarah Helm  
Brussels

Germany is issuing forceful warnings to Britain that enlargement of the European Union will not happen if the Government continues to block further political integration.

The warnings, from senior officials close to Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor, suggest that Bonn is now actively preparing the ground for the possibility of an indefinite delay in the process of enlarging the union to the east. It is also using the enlargement threat to turn the tables on Britain, which has always backed the inclusion of new member states as a means of diluting the EU.

For Germany, however, enlargement can only be a success if it follows greater integration. The message from Bonn is that Britain will have to agree to more power-sharing in foreign policy, defence, and criminal justice, as well as an increase in majority voting, if enlargement is to have any chance of going ahead.

One senior German official this week accused Britain of fighting a "flag-waving" battle with Europe, which would leave a country of "little Englanders more isolated than ever". Furthermore, Britain is being accused of fuelling Euro-sceptic feeling in other member states.

"The British attitude towards Europe is now seriously endangering enlargement. If enlargement does not happen, it will be the UK which will be responsible. We have given up all hope of the UK in the immediate future," said the official.

Privately, German officials are predicting that the Dublin summit in December, when an EU draft treaty is to be presented, will achieve virtually nothing. "We will try our best to conceal the fact," they say.

Last week, Germany and Paris proposed a "flexible" approach to power-sharing under which a hard core of countries would be able to go ahead with integration, leaving unwilling countries behind. Yesterday, Werner Hoyer, the German state secretary, insisted that the Franco-German plan was not intended to isolate Britain, which would be welcome inside the new "co-operation" procedures. His comments, however, failed to hide frustration at the lack of progress in the IGC, and the new plan is clearly an attempt to bypass British blocking tactics.

The latest German warnings echo an apocalyptic speech by Mr Kohl in Louvain earlier this year, when the Chancellor warned that if Europe missed this chance to deepen integration, it might slide back to war in the next millennium.

Since then, Germany has tempered its anger with Britain, but now appears to be shaping up for further confrontation as Britain's anti-European and anti-German sentiment flares up again in the run-up to the general election.

"There must always be a battle - a battle of Britain - even though the battle of Britain is over. We had the battle for the Falklands and now we have the battle for Britain to remain British. You are just islanders, dreaming of past glories," said one German diplomat.

Although the anger is strongly felt, British officials say the threat of delaying enlargement, may also be calculated to suit the changing mood in Germany, where there are growing doubts about how speedily the process should go ahead. Although integration is one prerequisite for enlargement, more money is another, and it is Germany which must pick up the lion's share of the bill.



On a roll: Smoke drifts towards the Pacific Ocean from forest fires raging across 3,000 acres of the Calabasas area in Los Angeles county. The district is 30 miles north-west of Los Angeles city centre. Photograph: AP/Mark J Terrell

# Grey cardinal hovers at Yeltsin's side

Phil Reeves  
Moscow

Sour grapes there may have been aplenty, but the attack on Boris Yeltsin has "lost touch with reality", and that power in the land now resides largely with Mr Chubais.

Such is his reputed clout that the Kremlin's upper echelons are now only occupied by the 41-year-old Mr Chubais and his associates, said Mr Yegorov, who described the present chief-of-staff as a man who wanted to mould Russia "like putty" in his hands, while Mr Yeltsin remains largely out of view, preparing for a heart bypass operation, scheduled for next month.

Even if Mr Yegorov is over-

stating his case, no one in Russia disputes that the ill and aging Mr Yeltsin has become enormously influential, after executing a swift political comeback. Only nine months ago, he seemed doomed to political exile, after being dumped as Russia's privatisation minister. But he successfully managed Mr Yeltsin's re-election campaign, and was rewarded with a job as gatekeeper to the President himself.

Mr Chubais also managed, en route, to secure the sacking of Mr Yeltsin's close friend, General Alexander Kozlov, and the hard-line chief of the security services, Mikhail Bar-

sukov. Last week, he masterminded the ousting of Alexander Lebed, the security chief who was openly parading his ambitions to become president. There are no tougher opponents in Russia.

Mr Chubais - who today completes his first 100 days in office - already overshadows the Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. He has control of the Kremlin's press service and personnel. He can draft legislation. He decides who meets the President, and when.

The chief-of-staff has secured his position by building a close alliance with Tatyana Dyachenko, Mr Yeltsin's younger

daughter. It is widely believed that she and Mr Chubais are the only two non-medical people with daily access to the President.

Mr Chubais's new powers are causing concern, not least because he appears to be wielding unusual influence over the once independent Russian television company NTV - which has lately come to resemble a tool of the Chubais camp in the Kremlin.

This week, Mr Yeltsin established a four-man council to oversee decisions during his illness. It includes Mr Chubais and Mr Chernomyrdin. But this is unlikely to end claims that Mr Chubais and Tatyana are running what amounts to a regency.



Anatoly Chubais: Gaining power in the Kremlin

## significant shorts

### SA police chief killed blacks 'with approval' on Kabul

An apartheid police chief told South Africa's truth commission his men had killed black activists rather than arrest them and believed they had government approval. The testimony from retired police brigadier, Jack Cronje, heaped further blame on the country's political leaders for apartheid atrocities after evidence on Monday directly implicated ex-president FW Botha in dirty tricks. *Reuter - Johannesburg*

Essay, page 16

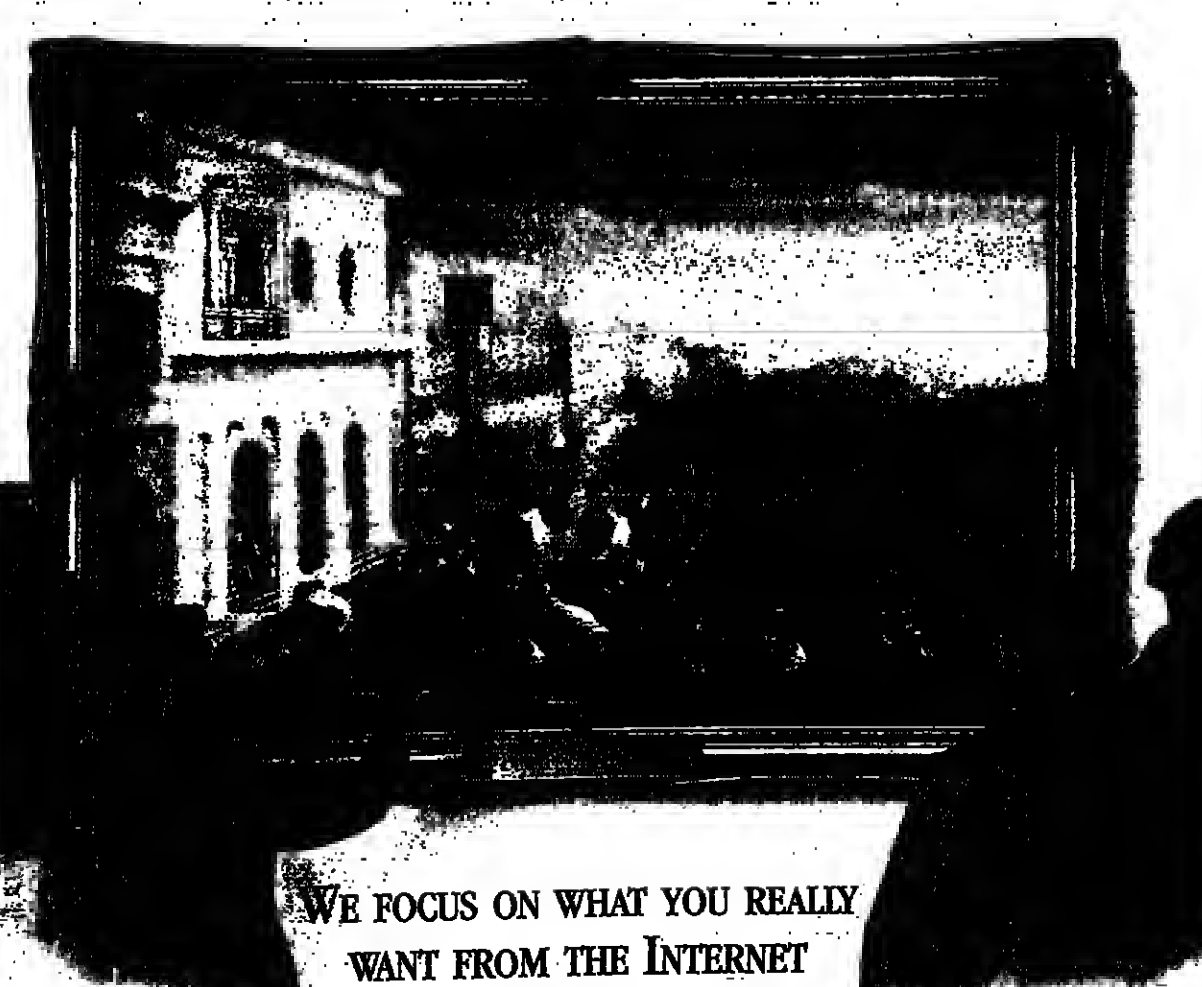
### Student 'spied' in Tibet

China has confirmed that a Fulbright scholar from Tibet is being investigated on suspicion of "gathering intelligence" and promoting Tibetan independence. Peking's embassy in Washington charged that Ngawang Choephel was sent to Tibet by the exiled government of the Dalai Lama, with funding from Americans whom it did not name. It said he "used the cover of so-called collecting Tibetan folk songs to gather sensitive intelligence and engaged in illegal separatist activities". *AP - Peking*

### Elephants return

After decades of fighting that scared away elephants, the animals have started to return to Eritrea. Six elephants have been sighted since 1993, said Hagos Yohannes, head of the wildlife department at Eritrea's ministry of agriculture.

Eritrea fought a three-decade war of independence against Ethiopia until the Marxist ruler, Mengistu Haile Mariam, was ousted in 1991. The province became independent in 1993. *Reuter - Asmara*



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## international

# Clinton enlists Nato to boost his image

**Campaign trail: President presents timetable for alliance expansion in foreign policy foray**



Dole: Disagreements with running mate Jack Kemp

Rupert Cornwell  
Washington

Setting out Washington's clearest timetable yet for Nato expansion, President Bill Clinton said yesterday that a first batch of countries from the former Eastern Europe should be fully fledged members of the alliance by 1999 at the latest.

In an address to foreign policy experts and community leaders in Detroit, Mr Clinton insisted that the United States would be "safer and stronger" with enlargement. Nor would it pose any threat to non-members, he declared, in a new effort to defuse Russia's continuing misgivings about the scheme, which have led Moscow to threaten not to ratify the Salt-2 arms-reduction treaty if Nato was expanded closer to its borders.

Now, the administration has

finally set a firm target date for enlargement, choosing the year that marks the 50th anniversary of Nato's creation, and the 10th anniversary of the breach of the Berlin wall, the event which above all other symbolizes the end of the Cold War.

In his first real foreign policy foray of the presidential election campaign, Mr Clinton made it clear that after the initial entrants, other countries could join later. "Nato will remain open to all of Europe's emerging democracies who are ready to shoulder the responsibilities of membership," he said.

The President did not name the countries likely to be formally invited to join at a summit next year, whose exact date will be set by a Nato ministerial meeting this December. But the first

group is expected to consist of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and possibly Slovenia.

Mr Clinton's goal yesterday was to project himself as a statesman above the campaign trail hurly-burly. But by coincidence, he chose for the announcement the industrial Midwest, home to many voters from East European ethnic groups who instinctively favour anything that protects their old homelands against Russia, and who are always a factor to be reckoned with in electorally pivotal states such as Michigan.

Not that Mr Clinton needs to make a special pitch, if a new *New York Times/CBS* poll which gives him a massive 24-point lead over his Republican challenger Bob Dole, is anything to go by. Every sign is that Mr Dole's 11th-hour decision to attack Mr Clinton's character is backfiring,

resurrecting the "old Bob Dole" of unsmiling political hatchetman and blurring the assiduously cultivated image of conciliatory and wise national leader.

Such considerations, however, did not prevent a scathing response to Mr Clinton's proposal. The administration, he said, "has been dragging its feet on expansion". Not only should negotiations with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic begin at once with a 1998 deadline for entry, but the alliance should give separate assurances to the Baltic States and Ukraine. This was "particularly important given the ongoing instability in Russia".

In fact, the Dole broadside obscures the fact that on most foreign policy issues, he has scarcely a serious difference with the President. Both are free traders. Both seek to foster a

market economy in Russia, and bind the former superpower rival closer to the Western democracies. Both are opposed to isolating China. Both favour a tough line on Fidel Castro's Cuba and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Mr Dole backed the Dayton accords which brought a settlement to Bosnia, and has outbid even Mr Clinton in expressions of support for Israel.

Nor would Mr Dole quarrel with the President's twin-track policy on Nato, combining insistence that enlargement must go ahead whatever Russia's feelings and strenuous efforts to make sure Moscow does not feel isolated or threatened. A mechanism should be set for regular Nato-Russia meetings "at all levels", Mr Clinton said.

The foreign policy speech came on another hectic day of fundraising and campaigning by

Mr Clinton, which would end with another trip to Florida, a normally Republican state which the Democrats have high hopes of capturing in 1996.

With less than a fortnight to election day, the President is, if anything, widening his lead over Mr Dole, who now displays his old fault of inability to focus on any one issue for long. His campaign has acquired a random, scattershot feel, and its mood has not been improved by reports of disagreement with his running mate, Jack Kemp.

According to reports, the supply-sider Mr Kemp has pleaded in vain with Mr Dole to concentrate on the Republican proposal of a 15 per cent across-the-board tax cut. Mr Dole's embrace of the idea never rang true. These days, the plan rarely rates more than a perfunctory mention in his speeches.



Clinton: Aiming to rise above hurly-burly

## The race is on for HK's new top job

Stephen Vines  
Hong Kong

After months of dithering, the shipping tycoon Tung Chee-hwa has formally announced his candidacy for the post of Hong Kong Chief Executive, or head of the first post-colonial government. Mr Tung, 59, is believed to be China's favoured candidate although there are three other serious contenders.

Being the richest man to run for this post, he appropriately hired the ballroom of one of the colony's expensive hotels last night to announce his candidacy and gave the vaguest of hints about his platform. It seems that this lacklustre contest is finally off to a start, although the election will only involve 400 members of an election committee hand-picked by Peking.

Mr Tung's rise to political prominence has been swift, although he was already well-known in the shipping world and owns one of the largest lines, including the Orient Overseas Container Line. The shipping company, founded by his father, was on the verge of bankruptcy

in 1985 when it was rescued, largely by Henry Fok, the Hong Kong businessman who is closest to the Chinese leadership. The rescue led to suggestions that the Tung family is in hock to Chinese interests. True or not, the Tungs have severed their previous close ties with China's bitter enemies in Taiwan.

Mr Tung was for a time on the Governor's executive council. More recently, China's President Jiang Zemin made a point of singling out Mr Tung for a warm greeting during a televised meeting in Peking. Such gestures are rarely without significance.

His main rival appears to be the marginally more popular Chief Justice Sir Ti Liang Yang, 67, who promises to give up his knighthood and British passport if elected. He became the first Chinese Chief Justice in 1988, but his tenure was criticised for a lack of landmark judgments and for allowing the judiciary to become increasingly chaotic. However, he is a shrewd operator who is good at maintaining contacts with all sides.

Yesterday, another leading judge entered the race. He is Simon Li, 74, a former vice-president of the Court of Appeal and a member of the Li clan, one of Hong Kong's most famous families. Since leaving the bench, Mr Li has become an increasingly vociferous supporter of many of the most hard-line positions adopted by China. Interestingly his daughter, Gladys Li, the chairwoman of the Bar Association, is one of China's most articulate critics.

The fourth of the serious contenders is the businessman Peter Woo, 50, who, in line with his American training, has been running the most professional of election campaigns, albeit one which is strong on organisational skills and almost bereft of any policy commitments. Mr Woo is the son-in-law of Sir YK Pao, another of Hong Kong's shipping tycoons.

However, the most popular candidate is Anson Chan. Mrs Chan is the Chief Secretary, the number two official in the present colonial government, but China regards her as being too "pro-British" for the top job. As most observers believe that the Chief Executive will be selected in Peking, the presence of an election notwithstanding, this puts her out of the running.



Polling strain: Bystanders helping a woman during chaos as hundreds of electoral workers tried to deliver ballot boxes outside Managua

Photograph: Oswaldo Rivas/Reuters

## Ortega cries foul over Nicaraguan elections

Phil Davison  
Managua

Six years ago, he cried in defeat. This time, he cried "fraud". The Nicaraguan Sandinista leader, Daniel Ortega, refused to accept his crushing defeat in Sunday's presidential election at the hands of conservative lawyer Arnoldo Aleman.

Mr Aleman, 50-year-old leader of the Liberal Alliance coalition, won 48.5 per cent of the vote to Mr Ortega's 39 per cent, according to incomplete official results.

But even as the former United States President Jimmy Carter was saying that the elections had been free and fair, Mr

Ortega, 50, summoned reporters to Sandinista headquarters to dispute the result. Looking stunned, standing with his wife behind him, Mr Ortega called for a recount in some areas. "Annul the vote. Viva Daniel," shouted about one hundred headline supporters who suddenly appeared behind the media representatives.

"Unlike in 1990 (when he was defeated by conservative Violeta Chamorro), at this moment we cannot accept the result," he said. "There were several anomalies. In Matagalpa, comparing the official results with our parallel count, we found 60,000 votes missing out of 300,000.

"We will continue fighting for the poor until the end," he concluded. To the cheers of his supporters, his remarks raised tensions here after a voting day which had passed peacefully and was widely seen as a sign of Nicaragua's increasing political maturity.

Politically, the defeat could mean the end of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), at least in its present form. Mr Ortega had already moved towards the centre during the campaign. Some analysts said that in refusing to accept the result, the Sandinista leader, soundly beaten for the second straight time, was playing the only card he had left - the abil-

ity to disrupt the government by keeping his supporters in a state of revolt.

That could lead to a new polarisation in Nicaragua, particularly if, as many here claim, Mr Aleman proves to be something of an admirer of the former dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Mr Aleman rejected Mr Ortega's claim and called him a bad loser. Even some moderate Sandinistas agreed, expressing embarrassment at the FSLN leader's stance at what has been seen by most Nicaraguans as a time of reconciliation.

The party that came a distant third in the presidential race, the Nicaraguan Christian Path (CCN), also claimed fraud and

called for a totally new election. Mr Carter, however, heading an observer delegation from his Carter Centre in Atlanta and a European Union mission of observers, dismissed the existence of any significant fraud.

Mr Aleman's coalition was a reshuffled version of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO), which Mrs Chamorro led successfully in 1990. She was widely criticised during her tenure for failing to create jobs, economic growth and security.

Many Nicaraguans blamed continuing Sandinista influence in key positions, notably the army and the bureaucracy, for her perceived weak leadership. Mr Aleman, whose wife died

of cancer in the late Eighties, has promised to create 100,000 jobs in his first year. From a well-off coffee-farming family, he had his property confiscated by the Sandinistas and spent six months in jail after someone accused him of being "counter-revolutionary". He has denied being a follower of Somoza, ousted by the Sandinista revolution in 1979 and assassinated in exile a year later, but is said to have belonged to a pro-Somoza youth movement.

He has, however, admitted that he would like to recreate a baseball team called the Five Stars, which was renowned under Somoza but broke up during the revolution.

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# Tide of refugees flees Zaire's battleground

Warfare between the army and ethnic Tutsi rebels threatens to engulf Central Africa. David Orr reports

Almost a quarter of a million Rwandan and Burundian refugees were on the road last night, as fighting continued in eastern Zaire. The Hutu refugees and displaced Zaireans were flooding towards the city of Bukavu in eastern Zaire, fleeing the fighting further south between soldiers and Banyamulenge, who are ethnic Tutsis.

But at the same time the United Nations reported about 10,000 Hutu refugees were fleeing Bukavu for fear of being attacked by Tutsi rebels fighting Zairean troops in the neighbouring town of Uvira. A UN spokeswoman said refugees from neighbouring camps were also taking to the road in Bukavu, which is unaffected by the fighting.

The conflict between the Zairean army (FAZ) and the Banyamulenge heightens the risk of a major conflagration in central Africa. Fuelled by political instability and ethnic strife, unrest is spreading like wildfire across the borders of Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

The refugees, mostly Rwandan Hutus who fled Rwanda after the Hutu-led genocide of at least half a million Tutsis in 1994, have abandoned a dozen camps around the Zairean town of Uvira. The UN evacuated 48 aid workers yesterday who had been trapped in the town.

A number of refugees are said to have died in attacks by the Banyamulenge. Tutsis who moved to Zaire from Rwanda about 200 years ago. The Banyamulenge are unpopular in Zaire on account of their relative prosperity.

"Some 221,000 refugees are estimated to be moving northwards towards Bukavu", a UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman said yesterday.

"The roads are blocked by rebels and all the villages are empty of civilians as well. Both civilians and refugees are moving into the hills". One Zairean soldier was killed and one wounded in an attack by unidentified gunmen on a UNHCR base at the weekend.

Meanwhile, fighters from Rwanda are reported to have attacked FAZ positions near the Zairean town of Goma. The Tutsi-dominated Rwandan army has launched a number of attacks in response to incursions into Rwanda by Hutu militias based in the refugee camps of eastern Zaire. Recent skirmishes threaten to erupt into full-scale war. According to a recent UN report, the FAZ are backing the Hutu militias in their fight against the Rwandan regime which drove them into exile after the 1994 genocide.

Zaire says the Banyamulenge rebels are supported by Rwanda. There is growing evidence that Tutsi militias from Burundi are also reinforcing the Banyamulenge rebels. Military sources say the FAZ are being resupplied with heavy weapons to respond to the attacks.

To defuse the growing tension, the UN has dispatched an envoy, Ibrahim Fall, to eastern Zaire. He is talking to the local authorities who this month gave the Banyamulenge an ultimatum to leave the country.

The situation in Zaire is rendered all the more volatile by

the months-long absence of President Mobutu Sese Seko, recovering from treatment for prostate cancer in Switzerland. There are fears of an army coup while Mr Mobutu is abroad.

Even when its President is at home, Zaire teeters on the brink of anarchy. Many regions virtually broken loose of central control. The notorious ill-discipline of the Zairean army, the Banyamulenge insurgency and the refugee camps make for a lethal cocktail of unrest in a region which is already unstable.

Almost three-quarters of a million exiled Rwandan Hutus live in the camps. Many took part in the massacres of Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda two years ago and despite the UNHCR's efforts, most refuse to return home for fear they will be subjected to Tutsi justice - or revenge. Rwanda's government knows there will be no peace in the region until refugees are repatriated. But the extremists in the camps have other ideas: a return to Rwanda by force.



On the move: Children orphaned by last year's genocide in Rwanda arriving in a refugee camp in Goma, Zaire

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Kinkel: Striving for "non-confrontational" dialogue

## Kinkel goes fence-fixing in China

Teresa Poole  
Peking

"After the rain, the skies cleared quickly," President Jiang Zemin told the visiting German foreign minister. Dr Klaus Kinkel, yesterday. And with this poetic flourish, Sino-German relations were very officially back on course.

Mr Kinkel had been scheduled to visit Peking in July, until Peking cancelled the invitation in protest at a German parliamentary resolution attacking China over Tibet. Last night he declared the fence-mending visit "very successful", and said that both sides considered the "misunderstanding" to be over. The commercial interests of China and Germany were almost "ideally dove-tailing", he added.

The question was, at what cost in terms of limiting criticism of China's human rights record, especially at a time when a leading dissident, Wang Dan, is about to go on trial? Mr Kinkel said he did not leave out "controversial issues" in his discussions with Mr Jiang and the prime minister, Li Peng. But he said that his human rights dialogue took place in an open but "non-confrontational manner".

The phraseology that was identical to that of the Chinese foreign ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang, earlier in the day. Mr Kinkel, visibly irritated by the questioning from Peking-based foreign journalists, was asked what he could achieve through this approach. "I did what I was able to do, and what I consider to be right," he said. He would not say if the Chinese leaders had told him about Mr Wang's likely fate. "You will not receive any further information on this from me". Nor would he explain just how human rights questions could be raised in a "non-confrontational" way.

On Monday Mr Kinkel said he had raised the case of Mr Wang and Wei Jingsheng, currently serving a 14-year sentence, in his meeting with Qian

Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister.

The unspoken truth was that China's swift response against Germany earlier in the year again demonstrated how Peking's tolerance for Western pressure over human rights is at rock-bottom, even when it comes from a normally friendly source. Germany is China's biggest European trading partner, and last November Chancellor Helmut Kohl became the first Western foreign leader to visit the People's Liberation Army since the June 1989 crackdown. But China's leaders are now confident that the world is desperate for contracts and that, at the end of the day, politicians will not jeopardise business. The German president, Roman Herzog, will make a state visit to China next month.

Mr Kinkel thus found himself in the usual no-win situation. Under criticism from opposition members in Germany, he had to convince outsiders that he had made an effort to raise human rights issues - especially Tibet - given the resolution in the lower house of parliament which accused China of trying to eradicate Tibet's cultural identity. But in China's present nationalist climate, it seems that nothing any foreign country says will have any effect on China's human rights behaviour.

Mr Wang's trial and a heavy jail sentence are expected soon, after Mr Kinkel's departure but before the arrival of the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, next month. Mr Christopher's last visit to China, in Spring 1994, resulted in the detention of Mr Wei, because China's most famous dissident had the temerity to meet the visiting Secretary of State. With the forthcoming trial of Mr Wang, the recent jailing of Liu Xiaobo, and the escape to America of Wang Xizhe, there are now no dissidents left at large for Mr Christopher to invite to dine, even if he were so inclined.



## obituaries / gazette

## Bill Bedford

Bill Bedford was a pioneer test pilot in the field of vertical/short take-off and landing (V/STOL) aircraft, working at Hawkers and British Aerospace throughout the development that led to the Harrier.

Born at Loughborough in 1920 and educated at Loughborough College School, A.W. "Bill" Bedford was serving an electrical and mechanical engineering apprenticeship and training to be a steepjack when the Second World War broke out.

He joined the RAF, and after flying training served in Fighter Command, initially as a sergeant pilot with 605 (County of Warwick) Squadron on the home front in 1941, flying Hurricanes; then with 135 Squadron from 1941 to 1944 on the home front in Burma, India and Ceylon, flying Hawker Hurricanes and Republic Thunderbolts, and lastly with 65 Squadron in 1945 on the home front, on North American Mustangs. That year he joined Training Command as a Qualified Flying Instructor at Upavon, and

then as an Instructor, Instrument Rating Examiner until 1949.

After graduating from the Empire Flying School all-weather course, Bedford became a graduate and then a tutor at the Empire Test Pilots School. From 1950 to 1951 he served as a Ministry of Supply test pilot with Aero Flight at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough.

In 1951 he retired from the RAF as a flight lieutenant and joined Hawker Aircraft Ltd as an experimental test pilot. From 1956 until 1963 he was the company's chief test pilot, and then chief test pilot for Hawker Siddeley Aviation at Dunsfold from 1963 to 1967. He worked on the development of the Sea Hawk, the Hunter and the P1127, Kestrel and Harrier V/STOL aircraft, making the first flights of all of the last three aircraft.

The 36th anniversary of the first tethered hover of the P1127, the prototype of the world's first fully successful experimental V/STOL fighter, which he made with his leg

in plaster as the result of a motor accident, fell on 21 October.

Among many notable flights during this period were a London to Rome and return point-to-point world speed record, set in a Hunter T7 in 1956, and the first landing of a jet V/STOL aircraft on a ship, when he landed the P1127 on HMS Ark Royal on 8 February 1963.

A renowned international demonstration pilot and a lifetime crusader for enhanced safety in demonstration flying, Bedford evolved spin and recovery techniques for swept-wing aircraft. These were graphically demonstrated in public at the 1959 and 1960 Farnborough Air Displays, when he performed inverted spins of 12 or 13 turns in a Hunter two-seater, using coloured smoke to trace the pattern of his recovery in the sky.

He claimed that, despite many crashes in aircraft, he had been injured only when travelling as a passenger in other people's cars. On 14 December 1961 he ejected successfully from a P1127 at about 200ft when it went out of control during an approach for a cautionary landing at Yeovilton. The aircraft demolished an old black barn which the Royal Navy had been trying to have torn down for many years.

From 1968 to 1978 Bedford was the Sales Manager of Hawker Siddeley Aviation, and he then became Divisional Marketing Manager for British Aerospace until 1983. Finally he was the com-

pany's Regional Executive for South East Asia.

When he retired in 1986 he took up aerospace consultancy, lecturing and after-dinner speaking. He was a passionate believer in and promoter of the Harrier and the supersonic STOVL strike fighter for the year 2000 plus.

Bedford was also an accomplished sailplane pilot, being the first UK holder of the International Gold "C" with two diamonds. He held the British and UK national gliding records for distance and goal flights of 257 miles, and an altitude record of 21,340ft (19,120ft gain of height).

An approved Air Registration Board glider test pilot, he was awarded the British Gliding Association's de Havilland Trophy (twice), Manly Trophy and Wakefield Trophy (1950-51).

Outside the cockpit, Bill Bedford was Chairman and Founder Member of the Royal Aeronautical Society's Test Pilots' Group (1964-66); a Member of the SBAC Test Pilots' Society (1956-67); and a Fellow of the US Society of Experimental Test Pilots. He was also deeply involved in local life in his home town of Esher, Surrey, and had been elected Esher Citizen of the Year for 1995-96.

Philip Jarrett

Alfred William Bedford, pilot, born 18 November 1920; AFC 1945; OBE 1961; married 1941 Mary Averill (one son and one daughter deceased); died 20 October 1996.



A Hawker P1127, the prototype of the Harrier jump-jet. Photograph: PA

## Roy Guest

For a brief while in the Fifties, Roy Guest gave the 16th-century Scots word "howff" back to the English language as a meeting place for songs and good company.

He always described himself as an impresario, and while he was much more than that, the rather archaic term was a good description of this almost Orson Wellesian, rolypoly man who left his mark on the burgeoning folk revival in ways that his successors have probably never realised.

His was a generation which felt the need to reinvent itself along traditional lines, so while he was actually born in Izmir, Turkey, he always claimed to be a Welshman (he was brought up in Ebbw Vale), and made much of songs in his repertoire like "Cocher, Bailey's Engine", which he sang with great

panache when he was running his "Roy's Good Night" concerts at the Purcell Room on the South Bank in the Sixties.

He had first picked up the guitar when teaching at A.S. Neill's pioneering "free school" Summerhill in Suffolk. To be frank, he was never a great singer, though his eight albums for the budget Saga label in the early Sixties were snapped up eagerly by those in search of repertoire, always hard to come by in those days.

It was when he went to Edinburgh to read Anthropology and Psychology that he made his real mark, when he opened the first of what were to be three Howffs, in collaboration with Jim Haynes of the Traverse Theatre. More than a folk club, certainly not a nightclub, but a bit of both with something of a family sing-

song thrown in for good measure, the Howff was a unique venture which came at exactly the right time for the burgeoning Scottish folk scene, and owed a great deal to the warmth and surprisingly avuncular manner (for one so young) of its host. Guest wasn't the sort of entrepreneur to sit in a back room and count the takings, and indeed it wasn't about money at all - which is possibly why, ultimately, the three Howffs he ran failed to sustain themselves.

My most lasting memory of the late Sandy Denny, for instance, is of her singing at the London Howff in Primrose Hill, a crowd jam-packed close to her grand piano, intimate surroundings that fostered a depth of communication that I never heard from her before or after, in her tragically brief life. It

was Guest's genius that created that kind of artistic ambience, bringing the best out of his guests.

Those were the days when the music business thought there might be money to be made out of folk, and so Roy



Guest: held folk Howffs

Guest must have seemed a natural recruit to organisations like Harold Davison and NEMS, Brian Epstein's spin-off from his Beatles empire. When I asked him how he was getting on with Harold Davison, he told me wryly, "Every time we meet he asks me if we're making any money yet."

No doubt his high-name promotions, with people like Joan Baez, Benny Goodman, The Who, Led Zeppelin, and Paul Simon made enough to satisfy his bosses, but he displayed his true forte with the Pop Proms, a boundary-crossing series of events at the Royal Albert Hall and the Roundhouse, which incidentally played a significant role in making the folk rock of Fairport Convention acceptable outside the confines of the folk scene.

When the Grade organisation took over the Harold Davison agency in 1965, Guest was invited to join the English Folk Dance and Song Society to set up an agency and information service for folk singers. He followed this with his own business, Folk Directions, which he ran from the building next door to the EFSS headquarters at Cecil Sharp House, with Jim Lloyd, now presenter of BBC radio's *Folk on Two* programme.

Despite organising some excellent folk festivals at Croydon's Fairfield Halls in the 1980s, he became somewhat disenchanted with music and moved to Faversham, in Kent. There he took an interest in local politics, and stood as an independent candidate in the local elections in May 1996. He also returned to his first love, the theatre, and became chair of the local Arden

Theatre Group. He had, after all, initially trained at the Central School of Speech and Drama (before going to Edinburgh), forming a touring company in his vacations which included Judy Dench and Ian Hendry. On graduation, he had acted in repertory in Ipswich and Bromley.

In the end, though, regardless of his maverick nature and his various talents, from psychotherapy to trying to penetrate neo-Nazi groups in the reunited Germany, Roy Guest's real achievement was his life, in all its restless, multi-faceted, multi-coloured extravagance.

Karl Dallas

Roy Guest, folk singer and promoter, born Izmir, Turkey 13 March 1934; married three times (one daughter); died Faversham, Kent 23 September 1996.

## Giuseppe Panini

Cast your mind back to the days of running around the school playground during morning break and you will almost certainly know who Giuseppe Panini was, or at least what he was all about. More than two generations of boys in short trousers can thank him for countless hours of obsessive, if ultimately mindless, fun collecting and swapping those card-sized photographs of football players that ended up in jealously guarded team or league albums piled up somewhere near the school track and the Subuteo set.

It is perhaps unsurprising

that the cards, which started off as glue and paste jobs in the 1960s before evolving into more user-friendly stickers, should have been developed in a football-mad country like Italy. More remarkable is the fact that they were the bedrock of a vast international business empire run by just one man.

Giuseppe Panini came from the humblest of origins, a working-class family from the north Italian town of Modena, and might have expected to progress no further than the main newsstand near the cathedral which his family won the licence to operate in the early 1950s.

Giuseppe had little formal education, having left school at 11, but he had the entrepreneur's gift for clear, simple ideas as well as the passion of an inveterate collector - he kept every copy of the daily sports newspaper *Gazzetta dello Sport* going back to 1929.

While working at the newsstand he noticed the portrait cards of various publishers distributed with their papers and magazines, and hit upon two novel ideas.

The first was to apply the cards to the football craze that he himself shared with the rest of postwar Italy, and the second

was to distribute them in packs of five or six together with albums, thus encouraging his customers to keep buying and at the same time get their friends hooked through the frenzied system of swaps that soon grew up.

Like so many successful Italian businessmen, he stuck a deep vein in the national culture and then marketed it through clever packaging (the cards were clearly modelled, at first, on the pocket-sized images of saints that have always been popular in Italy as lucky charms). And, like so many others, he made his family the

core of the business, employing his two brothers, four sisters and, over the years, any number of nephews and nieces.

The first cards, often rather grainy, out-of-focus affairs, appeared in 1961. By 1966, the business had grown into a major international success story with a turnover of 100 million dollars a year and had expanded beyond football to include figures from television series and Hollywood movies.

Giuseppe Panini hardly fits the model of the international tycoon, though, remaining faithful to his Modenesi origins and retaining a thick local ac-

cent. He became godfather to the local volleyball team, his other abiding sports passion, and even opened a restaurant to showcase the local specialties, tortellini and Lambrusco wine.

In the interests of a quieter life, he actually sold the core business to Robert Maxwell in 1989, a disastrous decision that almost pushed a thriving concern into bankruptcy. The Italian publishing company De Agostini hailed it out on Maxwell's death two years later, and it is now in the hands of the US group Marvel.

Andrew Gumbel



Panini: football stickers  
Giuseppe Panini, businessman, born Forza di Maranello, Italy 1921; married (three children); died Modena 18 October 1996.

## Marion Burgner

Marion Burgner was an exceptionally astute psychoanalytic clinician and a gifted therapist who was associated with the work of the Anna Freud Centre for more than 25 years.

The centre was established by Anna Freud (Sigmund Freud's youngest daughter) in 1948 as the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic, in response to the demand for greater expertise in the field of child mental health and the treatment of childhood disorders. In 1984 it was renamed the Anna Freud Centre to commemorate its founder. Marion Burgner treated many children and adolescents there. She also taught and undertook research in child development as well as being Head of Clinical Training for many years.

In addition, during the 1970s and 1980s, she worked at the Brent Consultation Centre's walk-in service and became particularly involved in research into adolescent breakdown. She also saw patients for psychotherapy at the Department of Psychological Medicine at University College Hospital, and supervised and taught medical students and junior doctors. More recently, she worked with HIV/AIDS patients at the Tavistock Clinic.

Born Marion Chasak into a Russian Jewish immigrant family, she spent her childhood in East London, and won scholarships to both grammar school and London University. She studied part-time at Birkbeck College, and obtained an honours degree in English while continuing to work full time. Subsequently she also qualified in psychology.

She was accepted for training in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy at the then Hampstead Clinic, and qualified as an adult psychoanalyst at the British Psycho-Analytic Institute in 1976. Since then, besides her commitments in the public sector, she devoted time to her private practice, becoming a much sought-after training analyst.

In the mid-Sixties, she helped edit the correspondence between Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham, who was her husband's uncle by marriage. She produced a number of seminal papers for professional journals, either alone, or with others, especially her co-worker, Rose Edgumbe. Her prose was elegant and incisive, reflecting a deep love of the English language. She was recently commissioned by the Contemporary Freudian analysis of the British Psycho-Analytic Society to compile a book looking at the psychoanalytic view of the development through the life cycle. She had already written a comprehensive introduction and chosen papers for inclusion when her illness suddenly struck.

Marion Burgner was a vivacious, courageous and determined person, with a prickly crust which hid a deep sensitivity and capacity for friendship. She had a wonderfully dry sense of humour, an exceptionally sharp mind and a love of life. The discovery that she had cancer, some months ago, initially filled her with outrage and despair, but she showed enormous courage and dignity in the face of the inevitable.

Anne-Marie Sandler

Marion Chasak, psychoanalyst, born London 24 June 1930; married 1958 Tom Burgner (two sons); died London 1 October 1996.

## Births, Marriages &amp; Deaths

## DEATHS

**BLACKET-FORD**, John Christopher (Jack), peacefully on 21 October, aged 78 years. Funeral at Holy Trinity Church, Whitefield at 2.30pm on Monday 28 October. Family flowers only. **BEACON**, Beatrice Effie (Fifi), late of Much Wenlock, on 16 October 1996, aged 88 years. Much loved wife of the late Vic, dear mother of Jennifer, and grandmother of Fiona and Tim. Funeral service and cremation at Ebbw Vale Crematorium, Shropshire on Monday 28 October, 11.30am. Family flowers only. Donations if desired to Alzheimer's Scotland. Donations and enquiries to: W.J. Northwood & Sons, 53 High St, Much Wenlock, Shropshire TF15 2JZ 72248.

For Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS, please telephone 0171-293 2011 or fax to 0171-293 2010. Charges are £6.50 a line (VAT extra).

## ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Queen's Palace and attendants a reception to mark the amalgamation of the Forces' Help Society and Lord Roberts' Warships, at St James's Palace. Princess Margaret attends the State Opening of Parliament. The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester attend the State Opening of Parliament.

## Changing of the Guard

The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 11am. 1st Battalion The Royal Regiment of Wales assumes the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.30am.

## Marriages

**Mr J.F. Poyton** and **Miss S.C. Joubert**. The marriage took place on Saturday 19 October at Bracknell between Mr Jean François Poyton, son of Mr and Mrs Edward Poyton, of Waverdon, Milton Keynes, and Susanna Claire, daughter of Mr and Mrs Ronald Joubert of St Peter Port, Guernsey.

## Birthdays

Professor Graeme Barker, head of the School of Archaeological Studies, Leicester University, 50; Mr Johnny Carson, television presenter, 71; Major Edwina Coven, HM Lieutenant, City of London, 75; Sir John Craven, chairman, Morgan Grenfell, 56; Miss Maggi Hambling, artist, 51; Lord Hunt of Tanworth, former secretary of the Cabinet, 77; Sir Archie Lamb, former diplomat, 75; Professor Sir Frank Lawton, Emeritus Professor of Operative Surgery, Liverpool University, 81; Mr Ibrahim Doudou, former Associate Editor, the Times, 88; Pete, footballer, 56; Lord Remnant, banker and accountant, 66; Sir Ralph Riley, former deputy chairman, Agriculture and Food Research Council, 72; Mr Gerry Robinson, chief executive, Granada, 48; Miss Anita Roddick, founder and chief executive, The Body Shop, 54; Mr George Rylands CH, Shakespearean scholar, 94; The Earl of Shannon, former deputy speaker, House of Lords, 72; Baroness Trumpington, Baroness in Waiting, 74; Baroness Young, former minister of state, Foreign Office, 70.

## Anniversaries

Births: James Ward, animal painter, 1769; Pierre-Athanase Larousse, lex-

icographer and encyclopaedist, 1817; Sir Severinus or Serrin of Bordeaux, St Severinus Boethius and St Theodore.

**Lectures**  
National Gallery: Tim Marlow, "Peter Blake (iv): sex & drugs & rock & roll", 1pm.  
Tate Gallery: Francis Haskell, "Some unexplained consequences of the Grand Tour", 6.30pm.  
Victoria and Albert Museum: Samantha Clutton, "The Morris, Gamble and Poynter rooms: a scheme of design for the V&A in the 1860s", 2.30pm.

## Dinners

**Hong Kong Trade Development Council**  
Dr Victor K. Fung, Chairman, Hong Kong Trade Development Council, was the host at a dinner held yesterday evening at the Dorchester Hotel, London W1. Mr Christopher Patten, Governor of Hong Kong, was guest of honour.

## Royal Society of Medicine

Professor Roger Clarke last night delivered the Ellison-Clarke Lecture, "Managing Radiation Risk", at the Royal Society of Medicine, London. Sir Christopher Patten, accompanied by Lady Patten, received the guests at supper held afterwards in the Society's House. Professor Sir Michael Rutter was presented with the Honorary Fellowship of the Society. Among those present were: Sir Gordon and Lady Williams; Lord and Lady Mutton of Dorchester; Sir Christopher Booth; Sir David and Lady Lucy Williams; Sir George and Lady Paulson; Dr Carver Ellis; Dame Fiona Calverton; and Lady Butler.

## Sperm cannot be used without donor's consent

## LAW REPORT

**Regina v Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority, ex parte Blood Family Division** (Sir Stephen Brown, President) 17 October 1996

Without the written consent of the donor, sperm taken from a deceased donor shortly before his death could not lawfully be used for the artificial insemination of his wife.

Sir Stephen Brown, President of the Family Division, dismissed an application by Mrs Diane Blood for judicial review of a decision by the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority not to release sperm obtained from her deceased husband before his death to enable her to be artificially inseminated, because her husband had not given his written consent to such a procedure.

**Lord Lester of Herne Hill QC** and **Michael Fortham (Laytons)** for the applicants; **David Patrick QC** and **Dinah Rose (Morgan Bruce, Cardiff)** for the respondent.

Sir Stephen Brown said the applicant, now 30, married her husband Stephen in 1991, following a nine-year courtship. They lived a happy married life and greatly wished to have a family. They had a normal sex life. Towards the end of 1994 they began actively trying to have a child. But in February

1995 tragedy struck. Stephen was admitted to hospital with suspected meningitis. His condition rapidly deteriorated. The applicant raised with the doctors the question of taking a sperm sample from her husband. Two samples were taken before he was certified clinically dead. He had been in a coma throughout. The applicant now wished to be artificially inseminated with her late husband's sperm in order to produce a child.

The Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 was passed to regulate the procedures of human fertilisation and the storage and use of human embryos and gametes (sperm). For this purpose it established the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority, whose responsibilities included operating a licensing scheme, maintaining a code of practice and issuing directions.

The Act provided by section 4(1) that no person should store gametes or use sperm in the treatment of any woman except under licence. By section 12 it was a condition of every licence granted that the provisions of Schedule 3 were complied with. Schedule 3 was

entitled "Consents to use of gametes or embryos" and provided by paragraph 1 that to be effective such consent "must be given in writing". Paragraph 5 provided:

(1) A person's gametes must not be used for the purposes of treatment services unless there is an effective consent by that person to their being so used and they are used in accordance with the terms of the consent. (2) A person's gametes must not be received for use for these purposes unless there is an effective consent by that person to their being so used. (3) This paragraph does not apply to the use of a person's gametes for the purpose of that person, or that person and another together, receiving treatment services.

The applicant's husband had not given written consent and was in no position to do so, being unconscious. The Authority therefore considered that the storage and use in treatment of his sperm in the United Kingdom would be illegal.

The applicant relied on the exception in paragraph 5(3) of Schedule 3, claiming that she and her husband were "together receiving treatment services". Although her husband died before insemination could take place, nevertheless there was a joint enterprise having re-

gard to the fact that the sperm was taken from his unconscious body in her presence and that they had discussed their intention and desire to have a child and had specifically addressed the possibility of posthumous artificial insemination.

His Lordship was unable to accede to this submission. Unhappily there was no opportunity to commence treatment whilst the husband was conscious and aware of events taking place. The taking of the sperm samples was in fact a unilateral act undertaken at the wish of the applicant herself. No doubt she acted in complete good faith believing she was furthering the wishes of her husband as well as of herself.

It was no doubt because the whole field of artificial insemination with sperm obtained from a man who subsequently died was so highly sensitive and ethically controversial that the Act permitted no element of discretion on the Authority's part. The application in respect of treatment in the UK accordingly failed.

His Lordship also rejected the applicant's contention that the Authority acted unlawfully in refusing to allow her to have the treatment abroad.

Paul Magrath, Barrister

0171-293 2010







## essay

# South Africa buries its past

Disputes over moral and criminal guilt for the brutalities of apartheid are testing the country's quest for reconciliation. Meanwhile the victims' families wait for justice. Mary Braid reports

The heinous confessions of five senior security policemen – including a colonel and a brigadier – to involvement in 40 apartheid-era murders and atrocities was this week billed as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's greatest coup since it began public hearings seven months ago.

Plagued with complaints that initial concentration on victims' stories had reduced its hearings to a national therapy session, the commission was delighted with the application for amnesty from the most senior police officers yet to have approached it, in return for information that would lay bare the brutality and immorality of the old regime.

The men, convinced they had been hung out to dry by National Party politicians, had to convince the commission that their crimes were politically motivated to qualify for amnesty. Their lawyer

promised that their testimony would blow the lid off some of the apartheid era's highest profile unsolved murder cases, implicate former ministers and even give the commission the ammunition it needed to do something many think long overdue – subpoena the former state president P.W. Botha.

Before the hearing, Alex Boraine, the commission's deputy chairman, charged with uncovering the truth about South Africa's apartheid past and forging a healing path forward, forecast: "This is the starting of a river that is going to become a flood."

On Monday, the flood started in a way Mr Boraine had not anticipated. General Johan van der Merwe, former police commissioner, subpoenaed to give evidence in support of the five, surprised everyone by volunteering that Botha had personally ordered the bombing of a church headquarters in 1988



Mourners throng the streets at the funeral of 13 people massacred at a prayer meeting near Durban in 1987

and then announced he, too, would be seeking amnesty. He advised all his former officers to follow suit. The old South African police force's resistance has finally begun to crumble.

The breakthrough for the commission, a cornerstone of South Africa's negotiated transfer of power, comes at a crucial time. Although it has the weight of an Act of Parliament behind it, its work has been plagued by the criminal courts.

On Friday, state prosecutors who had been investigating the commission's star witnesses for more than two years put down the latest obstacles. After the commission released the names of the five men, the Transvaal's

attorney-general, Jan d'Oliviera, ordered the arrest of two of them on murder charges. On Monday he went further, opposing attempts by the men's lawyer to subpoena witnesses in pending state prosecutions to appear before the commission.

Nothing illustrates so clearly South Africa's inability to make up its mind about how to deal with the past as the commission and courts' battle over perpetrators. Two years after the negotiated peace, a schizophrenia prevails over the relative value of justice and truth, and punishment and forgiveness.

Yesterday's débâcle was round two of a fight that began 10 days ago with the acquittal of the former defence minister Magnus Malan and a handful of former South African National Defence Force generals of the murder of 13 people – mainly women and children – during a prayer meeting in a village south of Durban in 1987.

The controversial prosecution tried to establish a chain of guilt between Malan-the-minister, the generals and officers under his command and six members of the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, who allegedly carried out the massacre when they called at the home of Vic-

tor Ntusi, an ANC sympathiser. Ntusi was not home but they opened fire on the house with their AK47s anyway. The case went to the heart of the National Party's cynical exploitation of the war between the IFP and the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal in the late Eighties as the edifice of apartheid began to crumble. It focused on the secret training of an IFP paramilitary force by South African armed forces.

But it petered into nothingness on the steps of Durban Supreme Court when a grinning General Malan, one of the great late figures in the old regime, emerged to declare the verdict a triumph for South African justice. The judge had rejected the evidence of the state's three main witnesses as unreliable, and said that secret security documents did not prove a conspiracy to murder or that Malan co-ordinated anything illegal in training an IFP paramilitary force. All the accused walked free.

The failure of a seven-month trial, costing 7 million rand, set off a welter of angry exchanges between the commission and court supporters. Many South

Africans were bewildered by the failure – note more so than Anna Ntuli, who lost three daughters and her husband in the KwaMakutha massacre.

As Malan professed his Christianity and offered his condolences to the families of victims, Mrs Ntuli, a small, round, black woman, stood quietly in a corner of the court. While the cameras clicked whirled around Malan, she tried in faltering English to express the injustice. But as the tears began to flow she switched to her native Zulu. You did not have to know the language to feel her passion. "My children and husband died and yet it seems no one killed them," she said.

Why the Malan prosecution failed has obsessed the media ever since. For Mrs Ntuli's son, Mbusi, 24, it was simple. Tim McNally, the KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general, only brought the case under pressure from the ANC and his heart had never been in it. And the courts, Mbusi Ntuli insisted, did not want to convict. "This is justice in South Africa. It has always been like this and the judiciary are the same old people."

Officials in the justice department sympathise. "I suppose we are asking the old regime to

judge itself," says one. "We are transforming the judiciary but it will never be completed in time to affect this process."

Those who covered the trial judged the evidence weak. It was always going to be difficult to prove to the exacting standards demanded by a court the trail of guilt linking the accused.

But for the commission the real flaw was very basic. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the commission's chairman, said the Malan verdict proved the commission should be left to deal with South Africa's past. There was a difference, he said, between legal acquittal and moral innocence.

The two sides agree on one thing: the failure of the Malan trial reduced the pressure on those guilty of gross human rights violations. Despite the hostility between the courts and commission, the latter's effectiveness depends on the courts acting as stick to its carrot.

If a perpetrator does not approach the commission by 15 December he faces the possibility of criminal proceedings. If, however, he goes to the commission and can prove his atrocities were political motivated, he will almost certainly be granted amnesty. No civil or criminal proceedings can follow. After Malan the court option seems less threatening.

"It is going to be harder to compel people to go to the Truth Commission," admits one government official who sympathises with the attorney-general and points out that the conviction last month of Eugene de Kock, self-confessed state assassin, of 89 charges including six murders was partly responsible for the five policemen seeking amnesty.

"Guilt – particularly at the highest levels – is hard to prove. Tons of incriminating documents have been shredded, and despite our instructions this may still be going on. After a failed 7 million rand trial it will be a brave attorney-general who tried to go for those at the top again."

And those once at the top know that. They know a weakness when they see one.

Rubbing salt in Mrs Ntuli's wounds, Malan and his co-accused have not skulked off into grateful retirement since acquittal. Even on the steps of the court they were advising servicemen who felt the net closing in to opt for the courts, not the commission.

A relaxed and smiling Malan has since given a seaside interview to the Afrikaans press in which he promised to "return to look after my people".

He and his generals are now setting up an office in Pretoria offering advice to those who once served under them. This must chill hearts in the commission which is at last making an impact on the police but has yet even to dent the ranks of the old armed forces.

The Malan trial failure has not blunted d'Oliviera's purpose. And while conspiracy theories abound about the attorney-general's motive – some claim they are tainted with the old order and prosecute because they know they will fail and that the truth will never emerge –

supporters argue they are the country's last true defenders of justice. Men guilty of the gross crimes – including this week's five-star witnesses – are using the commission to escape prison sentences. It is argued.

The commission meanwhile continues with its quasi-religious preoccupation with confession, truth and forgiveness, and a fresh beginning for the country and its citizens, even those who were murdered and maimed. It argues that new South Africa lacks the time and money for wholesale criminal prosecution.

Nuremberg-style trials, argues Mr Boraine, would have reached too few perpetrators and the demonising of a small group would allow the population to shirk collective responsibility for apartheid. "We want to hold a mirror up to this nation," he says. "It was not just a few people. A lot of people connived with the system, hid behind it and voted for it."

The commission's revelations – like this week's allegations about Mr Botha – may seem a little pedestrian to Europeans who have long believed the old regime capable of anything. But white South Africans are more resistant to the uncomfortable truth. The commission hearings remain largely black business. Few whites attend.

At the end of its two-year life, the commission must produce an official version of the apartheid years. It has a greater chance of being accepted as truth by the majority if it is based on the evidence of perpetrators from the highest echelons of government to the lowest ranks. Such a foundation would provide the country with its best chance of moving on. But there is another hard fact. A negotiated peace involved political compromise and horse-trading between the National Party and the ANC. There was no victor. War trials would have been politically impossible. The black consciousness Pan Africanist Congress wastes its breath by calling for the old NP cabinet to be rounded up and tried.

While the commission's arguments are all very rational, emotionally they seem lacking. In a new book, *Reconciliation Through Truth*, which champions truth before retributive justice, government minister Kader Asmal, writes: "South Africa needs to grasp its past in a way that soars above the banalities and caprice of criminal process." That's a hard message for the Mrs Ntulis of this world who suffered for apartheid but believed justice would be theirs in the new South Africa.

Mr Boraine is painfully honest. Truth, not justice, is the best the new South Africa can offer. Many, like Mrs Ntuli, still do not understand that.

Hearings are still full of people who believe the commission has rolled into town to take away the guilty men. Once again, says Mr Boraine, people who have paid a high price for the new free democratic South Africa are being asked to pay some more for the general good.

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## Hulio's in Heebraltar, smelling of hohoba



Miles Kingston

Yesterday I brought to your attention the current poster for some drink or other which says: "Alexander the Great had conquered Europe by the age of 25..." and asked if you could spot what was worrying about it.

The answer was so obvious that most of you felt it was beneath your dignity to answer.

Well done!

The fact is that Alexander had not conquered Europe by the age of 25. Indeed, he never

conquered it at all. He conquered a lot, yes. Otherwise he would not have been called The Great. But from his power base in Macedonia Alexander the Great headed east and conquered Persia, Egypt, India, etc. That is to say, he conquered a large part of Asia. To put it another way, he conquered no part of Europe except the few bits he had to trample on between Macedonia and Asia.

You would think that the advertisers of this drink, or even the makers of this drink, would have spotted this odd mistake before they distributed their posters round Britain proclaiming Alexander's conquest of Britain, wouldn't you?

Well, no, you wouldn't, actually. After 15 years of Tory education, and 1,000 years of isolation, we British still don't seem to be very good at picking up other people's geography or history or language. There are, very occasionally, hopeful signs. Thanks to the popularity of the singer Julio Iglesias, and to the popularity of the shampoo

ingredient jojoba, the British have just about managed to master the pronunciation of the Spanish letter "j". Just about.

But whenever there is an advance, there is also a retreat waiting to happen. I thought that when Eric Cantona came to play in England things had started to change, because by some miracle the great British public actually pronounced his name right. Can-toon-AH, they said, stressing the last syllable just as they do in France. At last! A breakthrough. But it was not to be. Newcastle United bought Ginola, and I do not think that in the North-east he is pronounced Jee-NO-LAH, by analogy with Can-toon-AH, or as a Frenchman would pronounce him, but Jee-NO-LA, as if he were Italian. My football friends inform me that the Newcastle manager, Kevin Keegan, sometimes refers to Ginola by his first name, David, as Dah-VEED, which is encouraging, but not a lot.

It's a tough job, getting foreign ways into our British noddles. Into our English noddles, even. One of the

first things I learnt when I stayed in Scotland was that John Menzies, the Scottish equivalent of W.H. Smith, was pronounced "Mingies". And I have pronounced it thus faithfully ever since, though it has brought me little credit among the Sassenachs. Occasionally I am beaten up (verbally) by English people at dinner parties, who accuse me of pedantry and snobishness and trying to suck up to the Scots. I know what they mean, because I feel exactly the same way when I hear people on Radio 3 talking about Richard Strauss and being very careful to sound the "ch" in Richard as a German would – that is to say, making it sound like the Scottish "ch". I wouldn't mind this mild exhibitionism so much except that nobody, but nobody, ever does the same thing with Wagner. When they use his Christian name, it is always as if he were English, like Richard the Lionheart or Richard Dimbleby.

(But not Richard Van Dyke. I wonder if the Americans will ever realise the damage they caused to

Anglo-American friendship when they allowed Dick Van Dyke to commit his ghastly imitation of the Cockney accent in *Mary Poppins*?)

So there we have it. Everyone laughs at everyone else for their misapprehensions. We laugh at the Americans for calling her Dionne "Waugh-Wick". The Scots laugh at the English for pronouncing "Waugh" as "War" when the proper Scots pronunciation is "Wauch". We laugh at the French and Spanish for losing the Battle of Trafalgar, and they laugh at us for pronouncing it "Tra-fal-ger" when the proper pronunciation is "Tra-fal-GAR" (not to mention "Gee-hral-TAR..."). And now we can all laugh at drinks people who believe that Alexander the Great really did conquer Europe.

Answer to yesterday's question. The question, you may remember, was: "What do you call a lot of Catholics being rude about the Government?" The winning answer, from B. Hume of Westminster, is: "Critical mass".



## Clean up Britain, but don't do it from the pulpit

Who was that hippieish guy who was so convincing about not mixing up religion and politics? Something, wasn't it, about Caesar and rendering? I forget. At any rate, he was right. Religion is unthinkably without spirituality, and politics is unthinkable without it.

Politics is a rough and worldly struggle for power. Imagine the chaos if John Major or Tony Blair really did run the country on Christian principles – the vigorous enthusiasm for discharging higher-rate taxpayers of their riches in order to help their chances of salvation; the deep commitment to truth-telling that would make the party system unworkable. How would the House of Commons function if it were full of ardent check-converters?

Then there are the commandments against adultery and lust. If Western politicians strove to be Christian with as much sincerity as Middle Easterners strive to be Muslim, this would presumably result in London living under moral laws as tough as those of Tehran. They would also know that all other religions are lies and a direct threat to the Faith, and take steps accordingly. (Watch out, Bradford.)

But they don't, of course, mean that. Most politicians are, like most of their country-folk, tepid contemporary believers, taking nothing too seriously and not expecting to be taken too seriously themselves. By "Christian principles" they intend one to understand only that they are generally well-intentioned and reassuringly traditionalist in a family setting.

Frances Lawrence says that she wants a national movement to renew civic values, and lets it be known that this is firmly based on her Christian faith. "Based on" we should have no problem with; if people gain inner strength and courage from religion, that is to be celebrated and admired. But if moral issues are to be translated into a practical political agenda, they need to be made secular and mundane. Legislating against certain classes of knives is a clear, secular political act; "remoralising society" is not.

Remoralising, indeed, re-anything, society implies a return to better times, which in this case means the Fifties, that relatively brief plateau of orderliness and social cohesion. As Peter Popham reports on page three of today's paper, it was a peculiar decade, shadowed by the war. Huge numbers of young men who might otherwise have been troublemakers had been killed or injured. Many more had been disciplined by service life. The state was, by modern standards, both large and powerful. And Fifties Britain led to Sixties Britain, so it wasn't quite as stable a decade as its admirers suggest.

Nor has any period in modern history been stable; accelerating change is our condition. It is our social burden and our private delight. This hasn't stopped politicians locating the



Andrew Marr

Politicians should be promoting a practical, secular programme rather than indulging in spiritual waffling

modern Fall in different decades. For the right, it was the Sinful Sixties, for the left, the Evil Eighties. Interestingly, each side uses the same word to attack the "other side's" decade of decadence. Conservatives criticise the selfishness of the Sixties, a time when "my rights" became paramount and duty was subverted. The left attacks the selfishness of the Eighties, when "me, myself and I" took precedence over community.

From "outside" the party prism, it's clear that both are right, but bigoted. Both the Sixties and Eighties were decades in which economic and technological change battered down the more deferential, statist and conformist societies that had come before. This has brought great liberation for some, and a terrible penalty for others. But there is no climbing back into the post-war womb.

There is no dark entropy at work, no inevitable falling apart. How many of us feel too liberated – personally too free? The big question for politicians is how a secular society based on the market, individual choice, a communications explosion and no settled religion or hierarchy, can be encouraged to emphasise belonging, duty, respect – those virtues idealised in our notion of the Fifties. Before then, human societies grew slowly and were rooted. They are no longer rooted; so how can we make our times more stable?

We can all think of bad ways. There could be an intolerant revival of fundamentalist religion; a new ideological Leader; a shrivelling impoverishment to drive us backwards; a shrill nationalist exit from Europe and the world. But it is one of the reassuring aspects of this decade that these all seem utterly implausible.

The benign answer is that politicians must now help form a social consensus about civic duty and public behaviour. Tony Blair and his too-quickly-dismissed new Labourites have been banging on about this for long enough. More recently, John Major jumped aboard the Frances Lawrence bandwagon. The difference, perhaps, is that Blair is readier to reassess the failures of his party in the Sixties than Major is to face up to the social deficit of the Eighties.

There is clearly some irritation in the Labour camp about the fact that, after years of talk about society and community, the Conservatives have so quickly seized Mrs Lawrence's newspaper-led initiative and jumped into step. That, though, is politics.

The important thing is that politicians should be arguing about a practical, secular programme – more teaching of civics, respect for the police and minorities, a harsher attitude to violence in the media, as well as in the street – rather than indulging in watered-down spiritual waffling. We can be more spiritual, more religious. And we can have a safer, more secure public culture. But they are entirely different things.

## Karl Marx comes back – in an anorak

A gruff and squinting bearded man is peering cautiously out from behind his computer screen. Vilified for decades, blamed for the countless atrocities carried out in his name, he has been consigned by widespread agreement to the waste-paper basket of history. Yet Karl Marx could be about to make a comeback.

If politicians and academics were to meet old uncle Karl today, they might find they had more in common with him than they expected. What with political leaders chattering about a classless society, and economists trying to explain the huge technological and social changes that are underway, there are Marxian echoes all over the place.

To be taken seriously today, Mr Marx would have to ditch a lot of the communist nonsense along with the straggly beard. The proletarian revolution never materialised in the West. And all it achieved in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was oppressive government and failed economic experiments.

Nevertheless, Marx was a prolific writer, ranging through moral philosophy to theories of historical change, contradicting himself and confusing everyone else at intervals along the way. Sooner or later some of his ideas were bound to become fashionable again.

Take Marx's enthusiasm for a classless society. John Major apparently wants one. So, too, does new Labour. Tony Blair wants people to "fulfil their potential" – rather like Marx, who wanted human beings to overcome alienation and find fulfilment.

But wanting to overcome class privileges was never distinctive to Marx. After all, good liberals have always wanted people to have an equal chance in life, no matter who their parents were.

Marx – unlike others who shared his dreams – had a strong historical view about what shakes up the class structure. Economic change, driven by technological progress, brings new groups of people to the top. And curiously it is this theory of history which is popping up in strange places again today.

Remember what Marx said about the industrial revolution? New technology made possible mass production in the factories, at the same time that fewer and fewer people were needed to grow food on the land. As a result a new powerful class emerged: the factory owners or industrialists (Marx



The information revolution may deliver the classless society Marx wanted, says Yvette Cooper

called them the capitalists). Where once, under feudalism, the landowners had been all powerful, they now came face to face with a bunch of business upstarts. Technological change, he said, would lead to a change in economic arrangements, which itself had knock-on effects for the class structure.

Now consider what economists and pundits are saying about modern economic and social change. Thanks to rapid technological change – computers, the Internet, stuff like that – what matters most is knowledge. As a result, a new class of powerful people is emerging: those who hold the knowledge.

The theory – complete with its Marxist undertones – seems to fit the facts. According to economists in the US, jobs are already polarising into well-paid, highly skilled employment and low-paid, low-skill temporary jobs on the other: the middle is hollowing out.

But these technological and economic changes also throw up another possibility: this could be our chance to smash

up the old class system entirely. In Britain today, the sons and daughters of professional parents still have a much higher chance of getting a professional job in their turn than the children of builders or shop assistants. All this could be about to change.

If education and skills are what matter, then all a revolutionary has to do is make sure everyone gets a good education. All those Socialist Workers Party members who stand on street corners shouting in nasal tones should give up and

become teachers instead. After all, it is considerably easier to redistribute economic power through education than through property. Take someone's property to give to others and they will scream theft. But we can give the low skilled more education without taking education away from anyone else.

In a knowledge-based, technological age of fierce global competition, countries who can't get their most talented people into the most difficult jobs will suffer. Never before has a system of class privilege been so economically inefficient. It looks cheerfully as though Marx's theory of history is finally delivering the classless society he wanted without a drop of blood being shed.

If only this were the end of the story. Sadly, though, the idea that history is about to end in a happy and unified nirvana may be no more plausible today than it was a century ago. We could easily fail to provide the unskilled with the education they need, and prop up class privileges instead. John Major seems to want to do exactly that, preferring to abolish inheritance tax to expanding education.

Tony Blair's three priorities – education, education and education – are far more promising. But even they may not be sufficient. The turning and churning of history could throw up new social divisions instead. Perhaps the important distinctions in future will be between the talented and the untalented. Or maybe the powerful people will be billionaires such as Bill Gates, keeping tight hold on the computer programmes we all use, and Rupert Murdoch, dominating the newspapers we read and the entertainment we watch.

But for the moment, we are speculating, just as Marx did 100 years ago. Fortunately for Karl Marx, whatever happens we are bound to be able to find something he said which predicts it. Whether it be a new classless world, achieved through education in the information age, or new social divisions, Marx had something to say about it.

But the chances are he won't get the credit whatever happens. None of our modern theorists or politicians want to be associated with the great man, no matter how similar their views might be. But even in their denials, they have something in common with Karl Marx, who famously said: "All I know is that I'm not a Marxist."

## Northern chips are down

London grabs the new national stadium. No surprise, says Emma Daly

Football's staying put, it seems, spurning the siren call of Manchester for the familiar, if inconvenient, twin towers of Wembley; no surprise there, if you're Mancunian, but irritating to one the less that the money, the prestige, the facilities are again going south.

Formally, the deal has not been done. The Sports Council has yet to decide on a site for a new national stadium from the shortlist of two (Bradford, Sheffield and Birmingham were dropped earlier), but the race is probably over: the Football Association, with the governing bodies of athletics and rugby league, has decided to back the London bid.

The news did not go down well in Manchester. "I think it was sadly predictable, I think it's an opportunity wasted," Paul Horrocks, deputy editor of the *Manchester Evening News*, said crossly. "People are sick and tired of the nation's resources being pumped into the nation's capital city."

Sir Bobby Charlton, the footballer who backed Manchester's Olympic bid, responded more to sorrow than to anger. "It should not be forgotten that there's another part of the country up here, with millions who want to see major sporting events," he said. "We don't really want to travel down to London every time something happens, which is the case at the moment."

Far Terry Christian, the television presenter who lives in Manchester, it was "par for the course". "I don't even know why they tendered it out, because I don't think there was ever any intention for the stadium not to be in London." Mancunians are used to London hogging the limelight, and the south blames that chip on the northern shoulder, but a certain stoicism is also in order.

"I would like things to be in the North but the point is that London is the capital, whether you like it or not," said Sir Bernard

Ingham, professional tyke. And Bernard Manning, king of uncouth comedy, is even harder on his home town's dream of glory. "It's like Berlin bogs the limelight in Germany, and Tokyo does in Japan," he said – though the German team do not restrict their play to the capital (Bonn) but play all over the country. "You've got to be sensible." Sir Bernard agrees: "I'm afraid people don't come to Manchester or Leeds in the same numbers."

But perhaps they would, if encouraged. As far as the national stadium is concerned, "Manchester makes sense from not only a

financial point of view but from a geographical point of view," Mr Horrocks said. "We are basically at the centre of this country." And, he added, "Wembley isn't even in the centre of London."

But the twin towers, the World Cup victory in 1966, the tradition, apparently acted powerfully on the FA – despite the fact that until the late Fifties England played at several club grounds. Mr Horrocks sees Wembley as "the soft option", picking Manchester, he says, would have been innovative, would have "broken the mould".

The Bernards think he is carping. "I do think there's a lot of people whingeing about this," Sir Bernard said. "They always whinge, there's always this provincial provinces ver-

sus London, and I'm normally on the side of the province, but I do think you have to face the fact that you have a capital. "It may be that people want a different capital," he added, raising the possibility of Marston Moor in Yorkshire as a new site. "I think there's quite a lot of snobbery in London about the North, I think there's equally a great deal of ignorance in London about the North."

And indeed the region has a flourishing life, sporting and cultural – Manchester United might have been humiliated last week, but at least the drubbing came from Newcastle and not Arsenal. A disproportionate number of English pop stars of the last 30 years have come from Liverpool or Manchester. Two out of three major soap operas are set in the North and it seems at times that all our favourite modern dramatists – Alan Bleasdale, Willy Russell, Alan Bennett, Lynda LaPlante, Alan Ayckbourn – are northerners.

"We've got great stadiums up here, oodles of tracks, we've got our own share of prosperity," Mr Manning said stoutly. Certainly London can produce as many miserable and crime-ridden areas as Manchester or Liverpool. Perhaps that is why Virginia Bottomley felt compelled to defend the granting to London of great chunks of lottery money, for its principal arts companies and for the millennium project.

"It is only natural, after all, that London, our capital city and this country's biggest tourist attraction, should be the site of nationally important projects," Mrs Bottomley said last year. "I love London... I care about the environment and surroundings in which I spend most of my life."

Well there you go, supporters of the North might say. She lives in London – and so do most of those who run the country, the media, the rest of our lives. No wonder they think the capital is first among wannabe equals.

## Hold the line for phone rage

Eve was talking to her sister Madeline when she hears that signal "call waiting" began. "Ohmygosh, that's probably my agent. Hold on," said Madeline. Eve hung up instead.

When Madeline rang back – evidently the other call was not her agent – her sister was blunt: "If you're going to put me on hold, I'm going to hang up. I hate 'call waiting'. You hear a beep, and you say 'Hold on', meanwhile the person is sitting there like a doll while you decide whether the new call is more important than the old one."

"Do you think I have nothing better to do than hold on? Do you think there is nothing else going on in my life, that I have time to hold on while you deal with your stupid phone calls?" Does this ring a bell? It may be a scene from fiction – Delia Ephron's *Hanging Up*, to be exact – but telephone rage is a fact for more than a few of the millions of Britons who encounter "call waiting" every day. British Telecom says that "call waiting" is its second most popular service after "call return" (that's 1471 to you and me). But popular with whom? British Telecom won't say.

Certainly not to those people who cannot bear the idea of interrupting. They hang up the moment they hear the words: "Please hold the line, we are trying to connect you." One woman admitted: "Oh yes, it was me. I just had to hang up. I just can't stand the idea."

Most people do not hush as much as see red, though in

Britain, the person who makes the call believes that he or she controls it, psychologists say, and people who think they are in control hate phone limbo. This is the place inhabited not by humans or answering machines but by the voice that assures you: "The caller knows you are waiting." "I cannot stand that!" explodes one caller, and he is not alone.

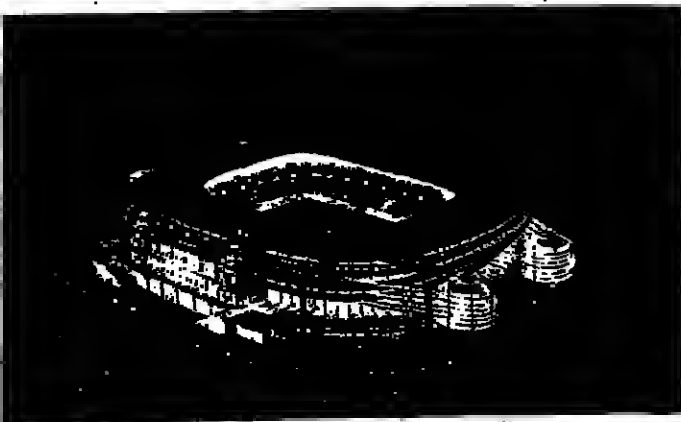
If one had to rate emotions, anger is above guilt, so spare a thought for the person who hears the beeps. Upon hearing these, he or she must decide whether to interrupt. If they do, caller number one may feel slighted. If they don't, caller number two may be fuming.

Having taken the plunge and decided to interrupt, they then have to figure out how. This is no easy feat with generations of whispers in your ear saying: "Rude, rude, rude." The problem is that the whispers are right. "Call waiting" is the telephone equivalent of looking over somebody's shoulder to see if anyone more interesting is nearby.

This social minefield is not going to go away. The work trend of the Nineties is freelance and "call waiting" is the next best thing to two telephone lines. But is it possible to have good manners and cope with "call waiting"? Do we need a new etiquette on how to interrupt? Ooops, before you answer, I've just got someone on the other line. Do you mind holding? I'll be right back...

Ann Treneman

Wanted: a new etiquette to deal with BT's 'call waiting' service



Southern comfort: the planned stadium

financial point of view but from a geographical point of view," Mr Horrocks said. "We are basically at the centre of this country." And, he added, "Wembley isn't even in the centre of London."



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# Mercury's £5bn merger with cable firms heralds huge telecoms industry shake-up

Chris Godsmark  
and Matthew Horsman

The most significant restructuring of the UK telecommunications industry since the advent of competition five years ago was unveiled by Cable & Wireless yesterday with a £5bn deal to merge its British subsidiary, Mercury, with three of the largest cable operators, Nynex CableComms, Bell Cablemedia and Videotron.

The combined company, to be called Cable & Wireless Communications, will be by far the UK's biggest cable operator, with 1.3 million telephone and television customers concentrated in London, Manchester and Leeds, and assets of £3bn.

It is likely to pose the most serious competitive threat so far to BT, which has managed to hold on to more than 90 per cent of its domestic customers, and to BSkyB, which competes with cable operators in the pay TV market.

The takeover of Videotron by Bell Cablemedia had been widely trailed, but the inclusion of Nynex, the second largest British cable operator after Telewest, stunned the industry. It was such a closely guarded secret that even several senior Nynex executives in the UK were unaware of the talks.

The speed with which the companies concluded the agreement, after just three weeks of negotiations and 10 days of in-depth talks, also surprised the City, which had waited for Dick Brown, Cable & Wireless's recently appointed chief executive, to give his company a clear direction.

Mr Brown said the "lead and the spark" behind the deal had come from Cable & Wireless. "It was a deal waiting to happen. The UK cable industry was waiting for the first move...if somebody didn't jump in, pull it together and make it happen, somebody else would," he explained.

Cable & Wireless said it did not envisage any regulatory obstacles to the completion of the merger. Both the industry regulator, Don Cruickshank and the Government had been warned about the deal in advance. It will also be reviewed by the Independent Television Commission, which regulates the cable television market.

The new group claims to be able to offer the first genuine one-stop-shop for customers with services ranging from conventional telephones, to cable television and internet access. It will include cable franchises in London, Manchester and Leeds in addition to Mercury's 700,000 residential customers who access the service indirectly through a button on the telephone handset.

Analysts pointed to potential cost savings through the combined operation's much tougher purchasing power with suppliers, including BSkyB, the dominant pay-TV company owned 40 per cent by James McCafferty from stockbrokers Hoare Govett said: "This is smart deal by

any standards. What this means for the new company is that it combines local distribution with a high quality long distance network giving operating cost savings through lower inter-connection charges."

Cable & Wireless shares jumped 26p to 467p, while Nynex rose 23.5p to 119.5p. Shares in other listed cable operators were also buoyed by the news.

The terms of the four-way merger are complex, starting with the £1,000bn (£685m) takeover of Videotron by Bell Cablemedia, the UK offshoot of Bell Canada International. To help fund the purchase, Cable & Wireless will invest \$338m (£212m) in Bell Cablemedia shares.

Nynex, Bell Cablemedia and Mercury will then be merged into the new group, Cable & Wireless Communications, which will be floated on the stock market by next spring. When the merger is completed, Cable & Wireless will own just under 53 per cent of the new company. Mr Brown said his priority was that Cable & Wireless would continue to own the controlling stake.

One obvious element missing was Mercury One2One, the mobile network in which Cable & Wireless has a 50 per cent stake. Mr Brown dismissed speculation that One2One's other shareholder, US West, which also owns part of Telewest, had blocked its incorporation into the new group.

The next step will be to appoint a new management team to run the company which will involve advertising key jobs externally. In a process that is also sure to lead to a shakeout of management in all four companies, Dan Somers, Bell Cablemedia's chief executive said: "This is a company that needs the best and the brightest management team, taken from inside and outside the industry."

John Killian, the chief executive of Nynex CableComms, declined to comment on the announcement until details were presented to the board. "The deal with Cable & Wireless is likely to take several months to finalise and we must get on with our business," he said.

There are also certain to be job losses as a result of consolidating activities such as administration and billing.

Comment, page 19



Done deal: Dick Brown of Cable & Wireless (right) and Derek Burney of Bell Canada International. Photograph: Andrew Burman

## Birth of big hitter to take on BT

Matthew Horsman  
Media Editor

The emergence of a new, powerful force in the telephone and cable television industries, heralded by the birth yesterday of Cable & Wireless Communications, is likely to lead to a radical restructuring of the UK market, analysts predicted last night.

In the telecoms market, the combination of Mercury and the three cable operators create a far more powerful competitor to BT, which will be able to supply cheap and varied phone-based services to as many as 6 million homes.

In the pay-television market, long the more problematic part of the cable industry's key businesses, the changes will be swift, analysts said. The new market leader is expected to be far more effective at building its

subscriber base, using the muscle of 6 million franchise homes to create a true national brand for cable as a competitor to satellite television.

The new company, in addition to its own common branding, will have more leverage in its dealings with programme suppliers, and will be able to streamline and improve customer relations, including marketing and billing.

"Certainly this consolidation is a good thing," said one leading media analyst. "Either all the (cable) investors would have to pack up and leave their investment on the table or actually co-operate to make it work." Added another: "The new company is definitely a big hitter in terms of negotiating power with programme suppliers," especially with pay-television giant BSkyB.

"Once the pay-television market goes digital, there will be more competition in the market, and C&W Communications will be well placed."

The announcement was seen as the first important step towards improving the marketing and administration capabilities of the industry, which has disappointed investors by failing to attract significant numbers of subscribers.

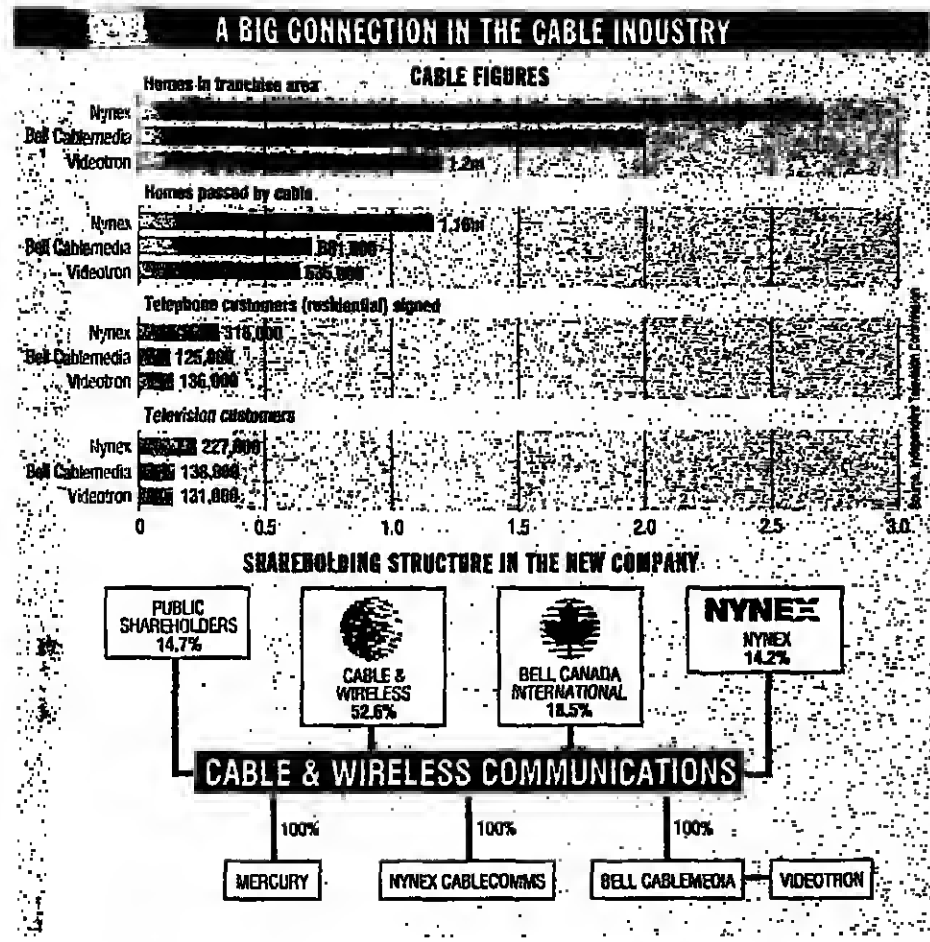
Earlier this year the cable operators co-operated for the first time on a joint £12m television advertising campaign, but many critics said the approach was muddled and half-hearted.

Last week the regulator, Don Cruickshank, criticised the industry for failing to match service and marketing standards of BT and BSkyB. A media analyst said: "The cable companies have been hopeless so far."

Those close to this deal hope it will go some way to redressing the balance. Dan Somers, chief executive of Bell Cablemedia, one of the new partners, explained: "We are now in a better position to compete with BT on the one hand and with BSkyB on the other."

The market was expecting further consolidation in the industry, which has so far invested more than £6bn building a broadband network. Independent players such as General Cable and Comcast are believed to be prime targets for takeover, with Telewest, now toppled from first position in the industry, the clear favourite to expand by acquisition.

Telewest had held merger talks with Nynex months, but these were ended by Nynex in favour of joining the C&W-Bell Cablemedia camp.



## Lehman puts \$18bn price tag on Airbus float

Michael Harrison

Airbus Industrie, the four-nation aircraft manufacturer, could be worth up to \$18bn (£11bn) when it is converted into a single corporate entity and floated on the stock market, according to the first authoritative attempt to value the business.

The study by the US investment bank Lehman Brothers also estimates that Airbus, in

which British Aerospace has a 20 per cent stake, could make profits of \$21bn over the next seven years before research and development costs and repayment of launch aid.

Lehman also forecasts that once Airbus has overhauled its status to become a public company it could launch a bid for Douglas Aircraft, the commercial jet division of McDonnell Douglas, to create the world's

biggest aircraft manufacturer, surpassing the mighty Boeing. Based on Lehman's estimate that Airbus could be worth \$15bn-\$18bn, BA's stake is valued at \$3bn-\$3.6bn. This is the equivalent of more than a third of BA's present market value of \$5bn.

The three other partners in Airbus are Aerospaciale of France, Daimler Benz of Germany and Spain's Casa. The

four partners have agreed to transform Airbus into a public company by 1999 and aim to have signed a binding memorandum of understanding by the end of this year.

Lehman believes Airbus would be even more profitable in the short term if it did not have the \$13bn costs of launching the A3XX super-jumbo and other programmes.

The A3XX, a double-deck

airliner capable of carrying more than 600-800 passengers, is likely to cost \$10bn to launch. Airbus could get up to a third of the launch costs from the four partner governments but the remainder would have to come from the industrial partners, other risk-sharing investors and the financial markets.

The Lehman analysis calculates that Airbus's annual sales will rise from just under

\$10bn in 1995 to nearer \$20bn over the next few years. But acquiring Douglas Aircraft would instantly raise its market share above 50 per cent, topping Boeing from number one slot. A merger, the study adds, would bring significant savings on the A3XX programme, allow Airbus to manufacture more of its aircraft in dollars and reduce the total R&D bill.

Comment, page 19

## Salomon slump lowers shares

David Osborne  
New York

Salomon yesterday reported a 58 per cent fall in third-quarter earnings, a stark contrast to the high-profit trend being enjoyed by its Wall Street rivals.

Shares of the company, the parent of the Salomon Brothers securities house, fell 8 per cent in early trading on news of the diminished profits, which came in below analysts' estimates.

"Quarter-to-quarter trading results are variable," Robert Denham, chairman of Salomon Inc, said in a statement.

Salomon's net income for the quarter ending 30 September was \$112m (£70m) compared with \$268m in the same quarter in 1995.

"This was a relatively quiet quarter for our sales and trading business," said Dryck Maughan, chairman of Salomon Brothers, which has itself staged an impressive turnaround since its disastrous run in 1994. "Our investment banking business continued to show good momentum."

Others among the largest New York securities firms, such as Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley, have reported stellar quarterly earnings thanks to the healthy conditions on the Wall Street markets.

Salomon emphasised, however, that over the full nine months ending in September, income rose to \$679m compared with \$289m for the previous nine-month stretch. "Overall Salomon Inc results for the first nine months of 1996 are very strong," Mr Denham said.

Earnings results at Salomon are prone to unusual volatility in part because of the importance of its proprietary trading unit. "This is a company that does not hit quarter after quarter after quarter because those bets made with its own capital," remarked Richard Strauss of Goldman Sachs.

In the third quarter, revenue from investment banking showed an increase of 46 per cent to \$187m. The company was number three among US underwriters of stocks and bonds, number six in advising on mergers.



Yasuo Hamanaka (centre) shortly after his arrest yesterday

## Tokyo police arrest rogue copper trader

Richard Lloyd Parry  
Tokyo  
and Nic Cicutti  
London

Yasuo Hamanaka, the Japanese metals trader once nicknamed "Mr Copper", was arrested yesterday after his former employer, Sumitomo Corporation, accused him of incurring losses of \$2.6bn (£1.6bn) during 10 years of unauthorised trading.

The arrest marks the first significant development in an investigation that has involved police and regulators in Britain and the US, as well as in Japan.

The arrest did not follow a request from the Serious Fraud Office in the UK, which yesterday said its own inquiry into Mr Hamanaka's trading activities was continuing.

An SFO spokesman said: "The Japanese investigation is obviously different from the SFO's... so our investigation continues as it has done."

In June, Sumitomo sacked Mr Hamanaka, its head of copper trading, after the original announcement that he had lost the company \$1.8bn, much of it in dealings on the London Metal Exchange. Estimated losses have since risen, mounting further yesterday as copper prices,

to which Sumitomo is still tied by Mr Hamanaka's outstanding trading positions, slipped slightly, despite substantial reductions in LME stocks.

Japanese television yesterday showed an unshaven Mr Hamanaka being driven from the Tokyo Public Prosecutor's Office to the city's detention centre. His home in nearby Kawasaki, was raided by investigators who carried away bags of documents.

The Japanese investigation is focusing on metal trading contracts sent to a subsidiary of Merrill Lynch. The documents, dated January and September

1994, bear the signatures of two Sumitomo executives and authorise Mr Hamanaka to carry out trades in the company's name through Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner and Smith, a subsidiary.

In the September document, Mr Hamanaka was authorised to name recipients of funds in connection with metal trading between Sumitomo and Merrill Lynch Pierce and other Merrill Lynch group companies.

In New York, a Merrill Lynch spokesman said: "We conducted all of our business with Sumitomo in an entirely proper manner."

STOCK MARKETS						
<b>FTSE 100</b> 		<b>Dow Jones*</b> 		<b>Nikkei</b> 		
<small>*Dow Jones index &amp; graph at 1230 hours</small>						
						<small>FTSE SmallCap: 2008</small>
Indices	Close	Day's change	Change (%)	1996 High	1996 Low	YTD (%)
FTSE 100	4057.30	-15.80	-0.4	4073.10	3632.30	3.86
FTSE 250	4482.70	+3.30	+0.1	4568.60	4015.30	3.50
FTSE 350	2016.20	-5.90	-0.3	2022.10	1816.60	3.78
FTSE SmallCap	2191.09	-2.23	-0.1	2244.38	1954.08	3.11
FTSE All-Share	1988.00	-5.54	-0.3	1994.54	1791.85	3.73
New York*	6056.59	-34.28	-0.6	6094.25	5742.94	2.12
Tokyo	21123.58	-179.27	-0.8	22666.80	19734.70	0.751
Hong Kong	12444.66	-85.39	-0.5	12510.05	10204.87	3.281
Frankfurt	2718.98	-10.05	-0.4	2734.82	2253.36	1.711

**Source: FT Information**

INTEREST RATES									
Short sterling	UK medium gilt	US long bond	Short sterling	UK medium gilt	US long bond	Short sterling	UK medium gilt	US long bond	Short sterling
0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11
0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11
0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11
0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11	6.10	6.10	0.11

CURRENCIES									
£/\$	£/DM	£/¥	£/\$	£/DM	£/¥	£/\$	£/DM	£/¥	£/\$
1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876
1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876
1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876	0.2260	0.0072	1.5876

## Reckitt and Colman plans £152m payout

Reckitt & Colman will return £152m to its shareholders via a special dividend and share consolidation, less than two years after the Harpic, Lysol and Dettol household products group tapped shareholders for £230m to part-fund the £1bn acquisition of its American rival L&F, writes Tom Stevenson.

The return of funds was welcomed by the market which pushed Reckitt's shares 13p higher to 726p as analysts anticipated enhanced earnings per share. Shareholders will receive 35.65p per share in return for the consolidation of every 20 shares they currently own into 19 new shares.

The proposals are unaffected by the Chancellor, Ken Clarke's, recent clampdown on special dividends and buy-backs because the payout is to be made in the form of a foreign income dividend (FID) which is paid gross and does not attract advanced corporation tax. Because Reckitt earns more than 90 per cent of its profits overseas it also plans to pay part of future ordinary dividends in the form of FIDs. The payback reflects strong cash flow.

20/10/96





## COMMENT

'Persuading four different moving parts to agree such a complex transaction is in itself no mean feat. But getting them to do it in just six weeks is a remarkable act of negotiating skill'

## The new broom at C&W makes a clean sweep

What a difference a new broom can make. In just three short months, the new man at Cable & Wireless, Dick Brown, seems to have confounded the company's critics, at least providing the strategy and direction that C&W has lacked for so long. Both from a financial and an industrial perspective, yesterday's four-way merger between Mercury, Bell Cablemedia, Nyxer and Videotron, is hard to fault. Mr Brown seems at a stroke to have found a method of putting a decent value on the company's huge and so far largely unrecognised investment in Mercury, and to have insured the company's long-term viability by providing it with a reasonably sized local loop to hitch onto.

Persuading four different moving parts to agree such a complex transaction is in itself no mean feat. But getting them to do it in just six weeks is a remarkable act of negotiating skill, achieved in part by keeping the corporate lawyers as far away from it as possible. The paralysis of action that seems to have gripped C&W these past few years has plainly lifted.

Mr Brown is obviously the main reason for this, but to be fair on his predecessors, he has also had the luck of timing on his side. Mr Brown arrived at C&W just as the cable industry was beginning finally to come to its senses and realise that something had to be done about its fragmented structure, lacklustre image and poor marketing skills. The cable companies have built themselves a wonderful infrastructure, but they have

been poor at doing anything with it. Mr Brown found himself pushing at an open door. Consolidation was in the air and at last there was a chance to solve Mercury's congenial weakness, its lack of a decent local network.

Normally deals as commercially and industrially sound as this one suffer from a fatal flaw, that they are also anti-competitive and therefore against the public interest. In this case it seems to be the very reverse. At last there is the prospect of proper competition for BT, an opportunity to create a powerful national brand in local and long distance telecoms to rival the all-powerful incumbent.

BT versus Mercury has until now always looked a bit like Mike Tyson versus gran. Now at least we'll have a competitor capable of going a few rounds. In cable television too, a much more credible player is created, one capable of standing up to the might of BSkyB as well as possibly offering some worthwhile alternative programming of its own. A great deal of work needs to be done in integrating these four companies and improving their lamentably poor penetration rates, but at least the building blocks are now in place to do something serious with.

As for the financial side of this deal, that seems to work for C&W, too. C&W ends up with nearly 53 per cent of a business which, judged by the valuations used in putting it together, should be worth something over £5bn when its shares start trading on the

stock market. As things stand, only a small proportion of that value is recognised in C&W's share price. The deal involves a cash payment to Bell Cable Industries of US \$338m, but that is virtually covered by what C&W is getting by reducing its interest in Germany. Now, there's got to be something wrong with this deal somewhere....

### Airbus offers BAE manna from heaven

British Aerospace is one of those companies where something always seems to turn up just when it's needed. The last such windfall was its stake in Orange, which cost it little but turned out to be worth a packet. Before that was Rover, bought for a song and sold for a fortune. So where is the next manna from heaven going to come from? Quite possibly Airbus, which against all the odds is turning out to be an outstandingly successful example of pan-European industrial co-operation.

According to a circular from Lehman Brothers yesterday, Airbus could be worth as much as \$18bn if it were floated on the stock market, valuing BAE's 20 per cent stake in what is admittedly for the moment only a consortium, at \$3.6bn. This is not a valuation achieved out of nothing, of course, but as luck would have it, BAE's present shareholders haven't had to stump up much for this little treasure - it has mainly been

funded out of government launch aid, British and Continental.

Nor is a stock market flotation the fantasy it might appear. Airbus is in the process of incorporating and while this is still a long way from a public listing, that is certainly the eventual aim. Airbus has every intention of tapping the capital markets for the planned development of the A3XX, its own version of the super jumbo. The main difficulty lies not so much in persuading BAE's Continental partners that floating Airbus is a good idea, as in establishing precisely what stake each partner is entitled to. BAE's interests are more profitable, but Continental parts are indisputably bigger.

### Thanks for nothing, Sir George

Those investors merely piling into the newly-privatised rail sector have more to thank Sir George Young for than they could have known. Not only were the franchises knocked out at bargain basement prices but, it now emerges, the taxpayer will not be entitled to recoup a single penny in the event that they make "super profits", whatever those are.

It might not have been like that. In his wisdom, the franchising director, Roger Salmon, advised the Secretary of State to include claw-back clauses in the sale of the train operating companies, clauses that

might have allowed taxpayers to share in any windfall profits. The flip side of the coin was that unexpected revenue shortfalls would also be borne equally. Sir George, who is more used to bicycles than trains, ignored this advice on the grounds that it would deter companies from tendering for franchises or encourage them to bid for higher subsidies.

He was also concerned that if the franchises turned out not to be worth anything, the taxpayer would have lost out twice over - by paying heavier subsidies and still not getting a share of the action. Hindsight is a wonderful thing but even without its benefit the investment community seems to have taken a much more bullish view of the prospects for the private rail companies than Sir George and his civil servants.

Stagecoach and Prism, two of the successful bidders for the first three franchises let by the Government, have both seen their share prices rocket since the deals were done. In the case of Prism, a collection of four bus companies, the share price has risen four-fold in as many months as investors lick their lips in anticipation.

This may be an investment bubble waiting to burst, in which case there will be plenty of investors getting a soaking. If it is not then Sir George will have some tricky questions to answer from the Public Accounts Committee, since Mr Salmon's proposal would have neatly protected taxpayers' interests on the upside and investors' interests on the downside.

## Orders and output 'grow at fastest rate for 18 months'

NE COYLE  
Economics Editor

rs and output are growing their fastest rate for 18 months, according to the latest survey of manufacturing by the Federation of British Industry. One of the key pieces of economic news before next week's monetary meeting, it showed that business confidence has increased for the third quarter running while investment plans have returned to highest level since 1989. Andrew Buxton, head of the economic affairs committee and chairman of Barclays, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kenneth Clarke, "hit get away with holding". Despite the recovery in output, manufacturers' costs prices have fallen sharply, though the CBI's quarterly survey was not uniformly buoyant.

ant, City analysts said it pointed to a brighter economic outlook. "It is not sensational but it does confirm that manufacturing is improving," said Kevin Gardiner, an analyst at Morgan Stanley.

Adam Cole at brokers James Capel said: "It shows that the correct policy at the moment would be higher taxes rather than higher interest rates, to encourage manufacturing rather than consumers. In reality, we'll probably get the reverse."

Angela Knight, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, said the results showed that improved confidence was reaching new areas of the economy. But Margaret Beckett, shadow secretary for trade and industry, said: "Any recovery will be modest, short-lived and possibly jobless."

The most upbeat aspects of the survey, which covers the four

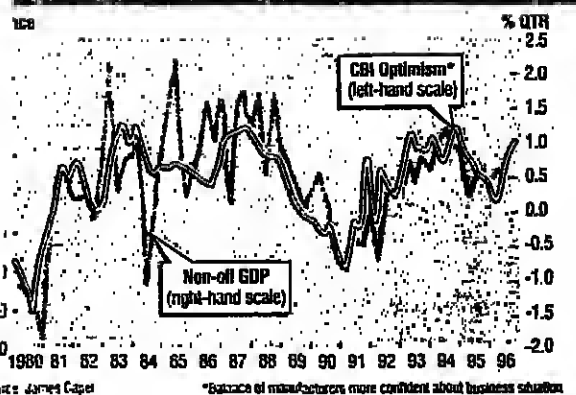
months to October, were confidence, orders and investment. The unadjusted balance of manufacturers who were more rather than less optimistic was 8 per cent, the same as July. But adjusting for the normal seasonal confidence dip in October, there was a sharp underlying rise from 11 to 17 per cent in the optimism balance, one of the best single indicators of GDP growth. In line with the improvement in confidence, investment intentions were the strongest since April 1989.

Total new orders increased at the fastest pace since last April, and output at the fastest rate since last July. Although the rise in output was less than expected, companies' expectations have proved too high for the past 18 months.

Two areas of slight weakness in the survey were stocks and jobs. There was a small increase in stocks of materials and works in progress, while stocks of finished goods levelled off rather than falling as expected. Jobs in manufacturing fell slightly. A sharp fall had been expected in the past four months, but is now expected to take place during the next four.

The Scottish CBI is to launch an inquiry into why Scotland appears to be missing out on the recovery. Although the latest survey showed a more positive picture, Lord Younger, the Royal Bank of Scotland chairman and head of the inquiry, said: "A number of areas have not hitherto shared fully in the UK economic recovery."

### BUSINESS OPTIMISM POINTS TO GROWTH



## Tunnel to cut 657 jobs

Michael Harrison

Eurotunnel yesterday announced it was cutting 657 jobs from its 3,500-strong workforce in a move that will reduce its running costs by £32m a year. Confirmation of the cutbacks came as Eurotunnel and Eurostar were given a freer hand in carving up the capacity of the Channel Tunnel, following a ruling by the European Court of First Instance.

The judgement means the three operators of Eurostar services - London and Continental Railways, SNCF and the Belgian rail company SNCB - will no longer have to reserve 25 per cent of their capacity through the tunnel for rival rail services.

The ruling overturns a European Commission requirement that Eurostar could only have exemption from anti-trust rules provided it kept the capacity available for other operators.

Eurotunnel meanwhile said that the job cuts would mainly affect consultants, subcontractors and temporary staff. Of the 659 reductions, 306 will go in London and Folkestone and 351 jobs will be scrapped in Paris and Coquelles.

The company estimated that £16m of the £32m cost savings would come from a lower salary bill. The latest job cuts come on top of 200 staff reductions since January this year.

### IN BRIEF

• Robert Ayling, chief executive of British Airways, said plans by the European Commission for a revision of airport slot allocation rules should be as "simple" as possible. In a speech to the European Aviation Club, he said that slot allocation is "a second best solution" to governments authorising construction of new airport capacity. Mr Ayling said he was encouraged by the fact that Neil Kinnock, European Transport Commissioner was "talking about a new regulation which will endorse the legitimacy of secondary slot trading", which already takes place. "The secondary market covers the trade among airlines for existing slots, as opposed to the primary market, in which new slots are allocated by authorities." **Clampdown on BAA airport charges, page 22**

• Jean-Claude Trichet, Governor of the Banque de France, said yesterday that seven countries were on course to meet the targets for membership of European Monetary Union from 1 January 1999. The seven - Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands - had all had their currencies trading within their old bands in the Exchange Rate Mechanism, he said. The Emu wannabes Italy, Portugal and Spain, and the UK, a firm "maybe", were notable for their absence from his list.

• Lloyd's of London and the rest of the capital's insurance market will provide \$300m (£186m) of the world's largest reinsurance programme amounting to \$2bn that aims to provide home owners in California with insurance cover against earthquake damage. The programme was initiated last year by the state-sponsored California Earthquake Authority after 75 per cent of insurers refused to provide new insurance cover after the January 1994 earthquake.

• The Bank of England's auction of £2bn-worth of gilts yesterday was a notable success. Bids amounted to 3.57 times the stock on offer, a 7 per cent stock maturing in 2001. There was no tail: the gap between the average and lowest accepted price was zero.

• Olivetti launched a court action claiming 100bn lire (£39m) in damages against Renzo Francesconi, its former director-general. The company said the action "accuses Mr Francesconi, who was at his post for about a month, to have created, either by a happy-go-lucky attitude or intentionally, an alarming situation". Olivetti also said that Mr Francesconi granted an interview to a daily newspaper that "caused great alarm, that created serious turbulence on the financial market, causing heavy damage to the company and prompting the intervention of [bourse authority] Consob."

• French industrial output increased by an impressive 2.9 per cent during July and August, boosted by a surge in car production ahead of the September expiry of a tax incentive to buy new cars. Car output rose 8.1 per cent in two months. "Core" output rose 1.9 per cent during the two months and was unchanged year-on-year.

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## Surprise C&W alliance sets the cable sector buzzing

## TAKING STOCK

**Gifts Index**  
94.3 10.4

10

DEREK PAIN

**Watermark held at a 25p peak. Stockbroker Durlacher expects the merchandising and promotional group to nearly double profits to £650,000 this year.**

[illegible]



Conrad  
bid for  
neffield

Foreign Exchange Rates

STERLING			DOLLAR			D-MARK		
Country	Spot	1 month 3 months	Spot	1 month 3 months	Spot	1 month 3 months	Spot	1 month 3 months
US	1.8776	8-7 21-8	1000	-	-	0675	-	-
Canada	2.4882	88-25 102-104	13464	19-8	89-58	0885	-	-
France	6.5265	87-57 98-248	15330	21-29	98-85	1000	-	-
Italy	2.6249	48-58 125-447	53876	90-85	272-285	33787	-	-
Spain	163.84	80-84 92-98	19317	34-5-15	120-1210	19390	-	-
ECU	1.2784	20-30 30-31	12217	13-14	44-45	10205	-	-
Belgium	0.9258	14-17 36-41	31820	75-55	213-212	20363	-	-
Denmark	1.3577	85-31 327-448	53075	50-57	238-247	21835	-	-
Netherlands	2.2534	76-80 70-96	12217	39-37	121-116	12126	-	-
Ireland	0.8980	13-5 14	16038	9-2	8-4	10419	-	-
Finland	0.8285	10-25 210-260	9251	19-20	49-49	11703	-	-
Sweden	0.9154	11-5 22-22	18004	4-6	32-31	4231	-	-
Japan	222.20	79-71 200-207	11281	45-42	130-125	9849	-	-
Australia	1.2071	79-20 85-82	12217	12-12	32-31	87-89	-	-
Hong Kong	9.2332	80-810 80-810	72282	20-20	3-7	51973	-	-
Malaysia	1.0008	0-0 0-0	23206	27-30	80-85	11878	-	-
New Zealand	1.2591	79-82 102-123	14021	12-12	32-31	87-89	-	-
South Africa	1.9975	0-0 0-0	57045	1-4	5-9	15978	-	-
Singapore	2.2391	0-0 0-0	1454	24-9	+ 70-85	19588	-	-

OTHER SPOT RATES			OTHER SPOT RATES		
Country	Spot	Country	Spot	Country	Spot
Argentina	72282	Chile	87065	Colombia	6552
Brazil	19425	Costa Rica	10288	Cuba	545677
Canada	12.500	Denmark	82000	Germany (West)	2727000
France	4.439	ECU	12217	Hong Kong	72282
Germany	72282	India	45079	Italy	06525
Greece	27446	Japan	70000	Portugal	26024
India	36332	Malaysia	91430	Russia	88072
Indonesia	98000	Netherlands	35200	South Africa	57045
Italy	12217	Nigeria	80000	UAE	23803
Japan	222.20	Spain	163.84		

Note: Forward rates quoted only for 90 days at a discount; premium for spot rates; quoted rates may be subject to a premium for spot rates only. Other rates quoted as approximate. For the latest exchange rates call 01-221-2222. Cable rates may be available through any of our offices.

Tourist Rates

City	Rate	City	Rate	City	Rate
Amsterdam (Dutch)	15880	Geneva (Swiss)	72282	New Zealand (Dutch)	21785
Australia (Dutch)	48880	Germany (Dutch)	23670	Norway (Dutch)	2884000
Belgium (Dutch)	10000	Hong Kong (Dutch)	72282	Peru (Dutch)	101400
Cyprus (Dutch)	27446	India (Dutch)	45079	Switzerland (Dutch)	12480
Denmark (Dutch)	82000	Italy (Dutch)	12217	Thailand (Dutch)	54400
France (Dutch)	4439	Japan (Dutch)	22220	United States (Dutch)	1000
Germany (Dutch)	72282	Malaysia (Dutch)	91430	West Germany (Dutch)	15978

Interest Rates

Country	Rate	Country	Rate	Country	Rate
UK	5.75%	Germany	4.50%	US	8.25%
France	5.75%	Denmark	4.50%	Japan	6.25%
Italy	5.75%	Spain	4.50%	Belgium	2.50%
Discount	8.25%	Discount	5.00%	Switzerland	100%
Advances	2.50%	Discount	35-38%	Denmark	4.25%

Bond Yields

Country	5 yr	10 yr	15 yr	yield	Country	3 yr	5 yr	10 yr	yield
UK	7.1%	6.8%	7.5%	7.5%	Netherlands	6.1%	4.7%	6.0%	5.8%
France	8.2%	7.8%	8.5%	8.5%	Sweden	8.1%	6.9%	10.0%	7.2%
Germany	5.2%	4.8%	5.5%	5.5%	Belgium	5.1%	3.8%	5.1%	4.5%
Italy	8.5%	8.0%	8.5%	8.5%	Switzerland	6.0%	4.5%	7.0%	6.5%
Spain	8.5%	8.0%	8.5%	8.5%	ECU	6.0%	5.0%	7.0%	6.5%

Source: Bank of England, Bank of France, Bank of Germany, Bank of Italy, Bank of Japan, Bank of Sweden, Bank of Switzerland, Bank of the Netherlands, Bank of the UK, Bank of the EC, Bank of the US, Bank of the Canada, Bank of the Australia, Bank of the New Zealand, Bank of the South Africa, Bank of the Singapore, Bank of the Hong Kong, Bank of the Malaysia, Bank of the Indonesia, Bank of the Philippines, Bank of the Thailand, Bank of the Vietnam, Bank of the Laos, Bank of the Cambodia, Bank of the Myanmar, Bank of the Brunei, Bank of the East Timor, Bank of the Timor-Leste, Bank of the Solomon Islands, Bank of the Vanuatu, Bank of the Fiji, Bank of the Tonga, Bank of the Samoa, Bank of the Cook Islands, Bank of the Niue, Bank of the Tokelau, Bank of the Marshall Islands, Bank of the Micronesia, Bank of the Palau, Bank of the Federated States of Micronesia, Bank of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Bank of the Republic of the Palau, Bank of the Republic of the Federated States of 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## sport

# Unforced errors litter Lions' Maori defeat

## Rugby League

DAVE HADFIELD  
reports from Whangarei  
New Zealand Maoris  
Great Britain

ising on a good break from  
Karl Hammond to score the  
first try of the match.

It was the first match Dwyer  
had started on the tour, but it  
soon went downhill. It was his  
fumble when trying to run the  
ball out that gave Jamie Stevens

Great Britain still cannot win a  
match in New Zealand, setting  
up an unwanted record here last  
night by becoming the first Lions  
tourists to lose to a Maori side.  
It was a defeat which was self-  
inflicted as well as historic, with  
glaring errors near their own line  
responsible for four of the seven  
tries Great Britain conceded.

Enthusiastic opposition  
coached by the former Carlisle  
trainer Cameron Bell and led by  
a player of the pedigree of  
Tawera Nikau did not need any  
repeated invitations. They in-  
flicted a third defeat of the tour  
so far to a further cloud over  
Britain's preparations for the  
second Test on Friday.  
Britain began brightly  
enough, Bernard Dwyer capital-

Midway through the half,  
Paul Rawhiti got a beautiful  
pass away to Nikau for the sec-  
ond and a miserable 10 minutes  
was rounded off when Steve  
Prescott failed to take a high  
kick and Doc Murray scored the  
first of his two tries.

The tourists fought back  
before half-time with a solo try  
from Tony Smith and a remark-  
able display of strength from  
David Bradbury, who carried  
three men on his back for the  
last 10 yards to the try line.

However, Britain's flair for  
self-destruction soon reasserted  
itself, with Nathan McAvoy -  
drafted in from the Academy  
squad to avoid risking Barrie-

no Mather, who might well be  
required as a replacement for  
Daryl Powell in Friday's game  
- losing the ball in the tackle and  
the veteran Neville Ramsey  
cashing in.

Marlon Gardiner's try in the  
corner, hotly disputed by de-  
fenders who felt they had put  
him into touch, opened up a 12-  
point gap that, despite Britain  
twice chipping away at it, proved  
the eventual difference between  
the sides.

Hammond's cleverly angled  
kick sent Prescott in, but Jon  
Roper's missed tackle soon  
allowed Jason Walker to reply.

James Lowe's kick and chase  
momentarily revived faint  
hopes, but Murray's second, also  
from a kick through, just as  
quickly snuffed them out.

The Great Britain coach,  
Phil Larder, tried to separate  
another disappointing midweek  
result from the Test side's  
prospects in Palmerston North,  
but his face betrayed the depth  
of his disappointment.

"We just committed suicide  
again," he said. "We made far  
too many errors near our own  
line and they punished us for  
them."

Quite apart from the string  
of errors that undermined the  
lack of any real depth of in-  
ternational quality in this squad,  
Larder also finished with further  
injury worries.

Mick Cassidy joined the  
lengthening list of knee injury  
victims and is unlikely to take  
any further part in the tour,  
while Larder also has to assess  
various other knocks before he  
can finalise his line-up.

NEW ZEALAND MAORIS: Murray; Walker,  
Henry, Tawera, Gardiner; Stevens, Howie; 14.  
Benton, Rawhiti, Sturm, Peters, Nikau. Sub-  
stitutes: Smith, Ramsey, Foster, Whelanau,  
Miles.

GREY BRITAIN: Prescott; McAvoy, Sinker,  
Tofield, Roper, Hammond, Smith, Moley,  
Lowe, McDermott, Morley, Cassidy, Dwyer.  
Substitutes: Bradbury, Phillips, Harmon.  
Not used: Mather.

Referee: G. Alcock (Auckland).  
Hull's Chris Kitching scored two  
tries as Great Britain's  
Academy side beat the Maori  
Juniors 36-10.



Nowhere to run: Great Britain's Jon Roper tries to break past Jason Walker yesterday. Photograph: Victoria Matthews

## Barrichello to join Stewart

### Motor racing

DERICK ALLSON

Rubens Barrichello, the 24-  
year-old Brazilian released by  
Jordan-Pengo, is the "experi-  
enced" driver chosen to guide  
Stewart-Ford through their for-  
mative period in Formula One.

Grand prix racing's newest  
team yesterday announced a  
three-year deal with Barri-  
chello, who will partner Jan  
Magnussen, the Dane already  
signed on a long-term contract.

Jackie Stewart, the team  
principal, stressed his belief  
that stability would be crucial in  
their development programme  
and revealed a long-standing  
respect for Barrichello.

"We're delighted to have  
Rubens with us from the start,"  
Stewart said. "We've seen his  
talent perhaps as few others  
have because we competed  
against him in both Formula  
Three and Formula 3000. He's  
got speed and his experience in  
Formula One is just what we  
need."

"We said from the outset we  
wanted a driver with Formula  
One experience alongside a  
young, up and coming talent.  
Rubens brings experience to  
complement the raw talent of  
Jan, but he is still young enough  
himself and can continue to  
develop his talent as he helps us  
build the team."

When Barrichello, who was  
born in São Paulo, graduated  
through the racing ranks, he  
was hailed as the natural suc-  
cessor to Ayrton Senna, emu-

lating his countryman by win-  
ning the British Formula Three  
Championship. His chief op-  
ponent that 1991 season was  
Paul Stewart Racing's David  
Coulthard.

After competing against Paul  
Stewart in Formula 3000, Bar-  
richello stepped into the For-  
mula One arena with Jordan in  
1993. Four seasons on, he parted  
company with the team, his  
career apparently in neutral if  
not reverse. The potential world  
champion had become one of  
the great under-achievers.

Stewart, however, appeared  
undeterred by suggestions Bar-  
richello lacks the dedication  
and application required at this  
level, and has given him the  
chance to relaunch his Formula  
One career.

Barrichello said: "The kind of  
opportunity I have been pre-  
sented with by Stewart-Ford  
doesn't come along every day -  
the chance to build a new For-  
mula One team from the  
ground up. I wouldn't have  
done it at this stage of my  
career if I were not completely  
confident in Jackie and Paul  
Stewart's ability to get the job  
done."

Heinz-Harald Frentzen  
made his debut in a Williams car  
on the first of four days of test-  
ing at Estoril, Portugal, yester-  
day. The 29-year-old German,  
who has moved from the  
Sauber team for whom he has  
driven since 1992, is to partner  
Jacques Villeneuve, replacing  
the world champion, Damon  
Hill, at the Oxfordshire-based  
team next season.

### TODAY'S FIXTURES

#### Football

(7.30 unless stated)

WORLD CUP GROUP SIX

1st: Tunisia v France (8.0)

2nd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

3rd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

4th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

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WATCH OUT,  
NOW they're in  
The movies.

Yes it's true, those superstars in Brussels have entered  
the movie business. In the interests of European culture  
they are talking about censoring what you can watch on  
the box. Bruce, Arnie and Sly are in danger of being  
banished from your TV screen in favour of Pablo, Pierre  
and Helmut.

They say that we are exposed to too many American  
produced movies and programmes and at least 50% of  
what we watch should be European.

And it is this interference with our freedom of choice that  
has us at Beck's worried. Could the blockbuster of beers  
be next for the censors?

Beck's has always featured the potent, aromatic hops of  
Hallertau and Tettnang and always will. Our barley chosen  
in the field by the brew master himself shall keep its leading  
role. And the supporting cast of glacial spring water and  
the unique strain of Beck's yeast will never be altered.

Brussels take note, meddling with our beer really would  
prove to be 'Mission Impossible'.

BREWED IN BREMEN GERMANY SINCE 1874

#### Football

(7.30 unless stated)

WORLD CUP GROUP SIX

1st: Tunisia v France (8.0)

2nd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

3rd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

4th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

5th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

6th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

7th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

8th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

9th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

10th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

11th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

12th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

13th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

14th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

15th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

16th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

17th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

18th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

19th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

20th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

21st: Tunisia v France (8.0)

22nd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

23rd: Tunisia v France (8.0)

24th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

25th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

26th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

27th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

28th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

29th: Tunisia v France (8.0)

30th: Tunisia v France (







All the supporters ask for is value for money from their players.  
They've got no time for big-time charlies  
Lou Macari talks to Phil Shaw as Stoke face Arsenal

Page 7

# Wenger comes to Wright's defence

Football  
MARK BURTON

Arsène Wenger yesterday defended Ian Wright and dismissed any possibility of club action against the striker, who was accused by Steve Ogrizovic of deliberately breaking his nose in the final minute of Saturday's goalless draw with Coventry.

The Sky Blues decided not to take the matter further, although Ogrizovic urged Arsenal to take action against their 10-goal top scorer. Wenger ruled out any chance he might leave Wright out of tomorrow's Coca-Cola Cup match at Stoke.

"Ian has been wrongly accused and I am amazed that people react so quickly to do so," Wenger said. "At the time of the incident on Saturday I could not see clearly what happened but I have now looked at the film and told Ian there was nothing wrong with his actions. In fact, I thought it should have been a penalty for Arsenal as the goalkeeper twice grabbed Ian's legs."

"I feel sorry for the goalkeeper that he is injured, but it is part of the game. And I also feel sorry for Ian that people accuse him so quickly. They should check first. Ian will cope with it because he knows, as I do, that every incident involving Arsenal is multiplied 20 times in the media."

Joe Royle is interested in taking Norwich's highly rated midfielder Darren Eadie to Everton. Royle made a final check on the former England Under-21 international at the weekend. He could offer Norwich's former Everton manager Mike Walker Anders Linpar and Vinny Samways in exchange for Eadie. Royle, who has £10m to spend, has also put feelers out for QPR's Trevor Sinclair and the Karlsruhe striker Sean Dundee.

Several other managers have shown an interest in Sinclair, but, for the moment at least, he is not leaving Shepherds Bush. At a press conference yesterday to announce the flotation of Loftus Road plc, QPR's chairman, Chris Wright, acknowledged that Sinclair had requested a transfer but added: "In a nutshell, we want him to stay."

He added that "QPR intend to be net buyers of players not

sellers". Wright said he hoped to persuade the England winger to stay, and praised him saying that: "Trevor's attitude has been exemplary."

Blackburn Rovers' chairman, Robert Coar, has dismissed speculation that his club is trying to sign the Brazilian international striker Bebeto. "It's just the latest name to be floated across us and that's all it is," Coar said.

The former Portsmouth manager John Gregory is the new manager of the Nationwide Second Division club Wycombe, who sacked Alan Smith a month ago. Gregory, 42, who was the first-team coach at Aston Villa, takes over a side who have won only two games all season and are one place off the bottom of the division.

Nottingham Forest yesterday signed a multi-million pound, eight-year sponsorship deal with Umbro Sports. Forest's involvement with Umbro stretches back a decade.

Forest's chairman, Fred Reacher welcomed the new deal but warned that the club manager, Frank Clark, would not have big sums of money to spend as a result.

Don Robinson, the former Hull City chairman, has put in a £1.5m bid to take over the Third Division club. Robinson resigned as chairman in 1989, having saved the club in May 1982 after they had fallen into the hands of the receivers.

The leisure company Conrad is poised to complete the £10m takeover of Sheffield United. Conrad shares have been suspended at the company's request pending approval of reorganisation proposals.

The former England midfielder Geoff Thomas has re-launched his Wolves career after 13 months out with a succession of knee injuries. Thomas played 90 minutes for the reserves during their 2-0 defeat against Preston last night.

Mark Bosnich, the Aston Villa goalkeeper, is still waiting to find out whether he will be charged by police over his Hitler style salute at White Hart Lane after being questioned by officers in London.

Rangers will find out on 7 November the punishment for Paul Gascoigne's red card in Amsterdam last week. His ban could be as much as four games and stretch into next season.



Debut in the driving seat: Heinz-Harald Frentzen gets to grips with the Williams-Renault during a testing session at Estoril, Portugal, yesterday. The 29-year-old German moved from Sauber to replace Damon Hill in the Oxfordshire-based team at the end of last season. Photograph: Steve Etherington/Empics

## Sabatini is ready to call it a day

Tennis

Gabriela Sabatini is planning to end her freetill down the women's world rankings by retiring from the game at the age of just 26.

The Argentinian, who was for a long time the world No 3 but who has seen her ranking slip to a lowly 29, is expected to make her announcement at a press conference at Madison Square Garden tomorrow.

The venue might provide a few poignant memories for Sabatini, who claimed the 1991 Virginia Slims Championships there, her last victory in an important event. She has won 2 singles titles in her professional career but reached only the grand slam finals and has been unable to win any tournament in nearly two years.

A source close to Sabatini said yesterday that the retirement was to take effect immediately, and that there were plans for her to play in select tournaments or to make a farewell tour.

Sabatini has been troubled by a stomach injury in recent months and was unable to play in the French Open and Wimbledon. She did not advance past the third round of the U.S. Open, a tournament she won in 1990 by beating Steffi Graf in the final for the biggest victory of her career.

In Argentina, where Sabatini is the greatest female tennis player in the nation's history, newspapers blared word of her retirement yesterday.

"Gabriela is Leaving Tennis" and "Gaby is Retiring From Tennis," the major newspapers *La Nacion* and *Clarín* announced respectively in front-page headlines. Other papers published similar reports.

Sabatini turned professional in 1985 and despite being among the top 10 women players for nearly a decade her play has steadily declined over the last two seasons.

Her last tournament title came at the New South Wales Open in Australia in January 1995. In what looks like being her last match on the circuit she lost in the first round to Jennifer Capriati in the European Indoor tournament in Zurich, Switzerland last week.

Always a player who threatened more than she achieved, Sabatini will perhaps be best remembered for her achievement in reaching the Wimbledon final in 1991 when she served for the match against Graf before ultimately losing 6-0 in the final set.

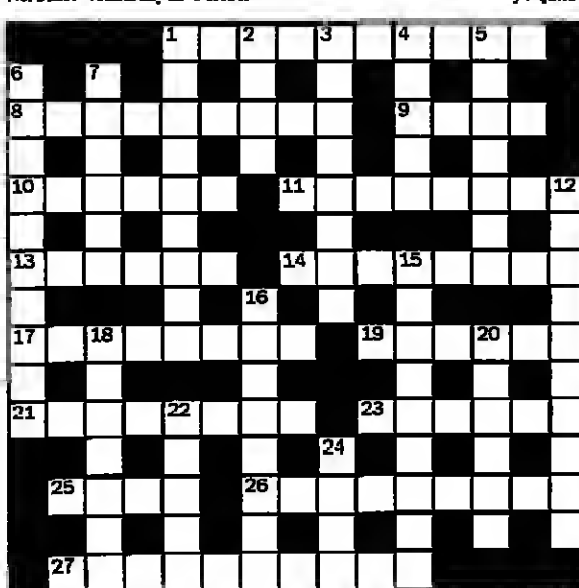
Rusedski wins, page 24

### THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3125, Wednesday 23 October

By Aquila

Tuesday's Solution



ROSTROM PLEASANT  
FUELLER  
STARSIGNS TIME  
U M I N U  
M O P E A B I A L I S H  
E G E N E I  
S O U N D I N G G O A R D E  
O C M I P E  
F A I R Y G O O M O T H E R  
F U E L L E R  
W A S H A S I A N C I T I E S  
P I M P L E R R  
I G I T I N G H E A R I B E A T  
T R O L L E R M O  
E L E C T I O N S O V E R B I A N

## ACROSS

- 1 Mistakes general in bullfight? (10)
- 8 Male cop in disguise (9)
- 9 Little depression in good entertainment (4)
- 10 Where course is seen to be in front (6)
- 11 Loathing of key translation (8)
- 13 Under obligation to be in bed, perhaps, before first stroke of twelve (2,4)
- 14 Bony fish upset one's gut, right? (8)
- 17 Issue lines of soldiers (8)
- 19 Result of a lob? (6)
- 21 Household, say, that is leaving television programme (8)

## DOWN

- 23 Port of Spain, ancient city of vitality (6)
- 25 Restriction-free Scottish resort? (4)
- 26 Brew citrus tea as a way to punish undergraduate? (9)
- 27 Rock music in the early days (6-4)
- 1 Victim of toxicophilic passerine? (4-5)
- 2 Seat of dodgy power (4)
- 3 Think of oew ideas - like the Oval with Taverna, to start with (8)
- 4 Duck I find in reed, unusually (5)
- 5 The bulk of a canine, for example (7)

## Antagonism in work place (10)

- 6 That's cracked, having ryo taken a wicket! (6)
- 12 Badly torn astern, this racer will not take part (3-7)
- 15 Retiring soldiers getting married (9)
- 16 Quiet husband in a jam (8)
- 18 Brave, if breaking down such a gate (4-3)
- 20 Henry, with spectacles, flash? (6)
- 22 Ruled, though wizened (5)
- 24 Capital consisting of endless loose change (4)

## RFU face legal threat after talks break down

Rugby Union  
CHRIS HEWITT

England's leading rugby clubs are threatening to take legal action against their governing body, the Rugby Football Union, following yet another damaging turn of events in the long-running power battle that has ripped the sport asunder.

Relations between the two sides reached their lowest ebb yesterday as talks broke down once again.

The RFU claimed last night that Epruc, the pressure group representing clubs in England's top two divisions, had refused to confirm that players would be released for England's opening international of the season against Italy on 23 November. John Richardson, the RFU president, insisted that his team had put forward a "fair and long-term" agreement and said he would be writing to each of the 24 clubs individually to appeal for moderation.

Epruc, meanwhile, accused the RFU of acting in bad faith by reneging on a draft agreement forged at a marathon round of negotiations on 14 October. Donald Kerr, the Epruc chairman, said a wholly different document was on the table when discussions resumed at the Richmond Gate Hotel in London yesterday.

"We very nearly reached an agreement," Kerr said on Radio 5 Live last night. "We had drafted that agreement and then last night they faxed through to us a completely different agreement where they re-

tracted everything they had agreed at the first series of meetings, even to the extent where they offered us £200,000 to wind up Epruc."

He claimed that the RFU had hardened their stance to such a degree that Epruc, which is demanding control over domestic club competitions, now had no option but to recommend legal action to its members. This, he said, would be brought under United Kingdom and European competition law although, significantly, he stopped short of saying that the clubs would now stage a breakaway and did not suggest that the national squad, most of whom have signed Epruc contracts, would be asked to boycott tomorrow's England training session at Henley.

Nevertheless, the breakdown will come as a serious blow to the England coach, Jack Rowell, whose preparations for the Italy match are being undermined by the continuing political wrangle. Although he has chosen a new captain to replace Will Carling, who retired from the job last spring, he feels unable to name him while the game is in such a state of upheaval.

Colin Herdige, the RFU treasurer who missed yesterday's talks because of a visit to Italy, registered his deep dismay at the failure to reach a settlement. "It's disastrous for both the clubs and the RFU," he said. "I haven't seen the latest document but I was under the impression that it was simply a more user-friendly version of the earlier draft. I honestly thought that we had the basis

for agreement, but we are now in serious danger of scaring broadcasters and sponsors away from the game."

Herdige, regarded by the clubs as an RFU "dove", was replaced by the finance specialist David Fison at yesterday's meeting. The other RFU negotiators included Richardson, their secretary, Tony Hallett and the executive chairman, Cliff Brittle, who has repeatedly incurred the wrath of the Epruc officials. One Epruc insider last night identified Brittle as "the one and only stumbling block".

Both sides were legally represented yesterday while the players sent along their own observer, the Bristol-based solicitor David Powell, who said: "I hope the two sides can get back round the table and reconsider their positions because the game needs the money far more than the lawyers do." But asked if he could see potential for a lasting settlement, he said: "If the RFU maintain their stance, the answer is probably no."

The clubs expected to discuss only two outstanding issues yesterday, the RFU's demand for a veto over any new competitions and the complex situation surrounding the governing body's corporation tax liability. Epruc officials are angry that up to £4m may have to go to the taxman when, they say, it could easily have been distributed to grassroots clubs.

According to the Epruc team, however, the document with which they were confronted raised far broader issues and as a result, the meeting broke up in a morass of bad feeling.



SPV's in 1996